JUNE, 1937

THE CRISIS

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(Carrying on for Hubbard, Tolan and Ward—See page 165)

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David Cartwright

The League Betrays Ethiopia

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

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Volume 44, No. 6 *Whole No. 318*

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THE COVER

The University of Michigan continues to develop great Negro athletes. DeHart Hubbard will be remembered for his phenomenal broad jumps and Eddie Tolan for his sprinting and 1932 Olympic performances, while the memory of Willis Ward, brilliant track man and sensational football player, is still green. The latest in the parade of dark Maize and Blue athletes is William (Big Bill) Watson, who on May 22 in the Big Ten track meet at Ann Arbor broke the conference record in the shotput with 50 feet 10⅜ inches. He won two other first places with 153 feet 9½ inches in the discus throw and 24 feet 4½ inches in the broad jump.

NEXT MONTH

George S. Schuyler will have an article reviewing "Gone With the Wind," the best-selling novel about Georgia during the Civil War. More than a million copies of this book have been sold and it is said to contain more anti-Negro propaganda than all the history books combined. Mr. Schuyler tells about it in his inimitable fashion in the July number.

•

There will be also an article on school conditions in New York entitled "Jim Crow Goes to School in New York."

•

Henry Lee Moon writes a review of Angelo Herndon's "Let Me Live."

•

Miles Mark Fisher will have a piece on Richard Allen.

•

The August number will be the 26th annual Education number. News and pictures of graduates should be in THE CRISIS office not later than July 2.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

George Padmore is doing a series of articles on Africa and world politics of which this is the second. He lives in London.

•

Dorsey C. Kiddie lives in Chicago.

•

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•

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Abyssinia Betrayed by the League of Nations

By George Padmore

THROUGHOUT the history of predatory imperialism, there has never been a case of such cynicism and treachery as the betrayal of Abyssinia by Great Britain and France, the nations which are supposed to be the bulwarks of the League of Nations and the defenders of "Collective Security." But when their conduct is viewed against the background of intrigues and counter-intrigues which they have carried on against this African kingdom from the eighties of the last century, their recent conduct should cause us no surprise. Every great European power has at some time or another entertained designs upon Abyssinia. Italy's onslaught is merely the culmination of half a century of such plotting, and represents the blackest chapter in the history of European colonial expansion in Africa.

But let us examine the part which England and France played in facilitating this rape. In doing so, we can immediately eliminate France, for Laval, the then prime minister of that country, acted the role of open accomplice to Mussolini. It could not be otherwise, for was he not the one who prepared the way for Italy's attack, via the Pact of Rome? And as a corollary to this agreement, Laval naturally had to do his best to obstruct any measures which the League might have attempted to place in the way of his new friend and ally. Thanks to the obstructionist tactics of this Frenchman, the Italian dictator was able to carry on his military campaign without the least fear of effective measures being applied against him by the League.

It is the role of Britain with which we are most concerned. While it was more subtle, it was equally as treacherous as that played by Laval and his successor, M. Flandin, who continued his policy. The British representatives of "democracy," while paying lip service to the Covenant and posing before the electorate at home as champions of peace, justice, and heavens knows what, were carrying on backstairs negotiations with Italy at every stage of the dispute, to see to what extent they, too, could share in the spoils. At no time did the British imperialists ever intend to defend Abyssinia. And when they failed to get what they wanted, they just scurried away like rats from a drowning ship, not only deserting the victim of aggression, but the League and collective security. But little did they realise that when Addis Ababa fell the peace of Europe would go down with it. And soon the European peoples will be called upon to pay the bitter price for the duplicity of these imperialist brigands.

"Invasion of soverign rights has been in progress for centuries. Where is the nation today which during its history has not invaded the sovereign rights of others?"

"I consider it monstrous that the process, by which we assumed power in Abyssinia, the necessary expansion of our people, should be criticised. How about others? What have they been doing for centuries? There has never been but one method in the world of imposing one's will on backward peoples. That is by force. It was by no other means that one other secured the greatest Empire on the planet."

—Mussolini

Following the Wal-Wal incident referred to in the previous article, the Emperor telegraphed to the League of Nations on December 14, 1934, drawing the attention of the Council to the gravity of the situation, and on January 3, 1935, the Abyssinian government addressed a formal appeal to the League under Article II of the Covenant. This request was motivated by the fact that Italy had refused to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the dispute as provided for by the Italo-Abyssinian Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration of 1928. The League took no action in the matter. In the meanwhile, M. Laval visited Rome and made his deal with Mussolini. This agreement undoubtedly affected the whole course of subsequent relations between Italy and Abyssinia, for immediately after Laval's return to Paris, the French pro-Fascist press openly began to incite Mussolini to take firm action against Abyssinia.

Wink at Invasion

M. Tattinger, the President of the Colonial Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, in a statement in *La Depeche Coloniale*, one of the most influential French colonial journals, wrote: "Sacrifice for sacrifice, I can see no grave inconvenience in that Abyssinia should pass under the sovereignty of Italy, if the latter guarantees not to touch our colonial vertebrates or the development of our African territories," while the well-known French publicist Pertinax, writing in *L'Echo de Paris*, stated that there were numerous precedents in the history of European relations with backward peoples to justify Italian aggression against Abyssinia, and that in such circumstances Mussolini could rest assured that the French government would place no inconvenience in his way. Pertinax, however, indicated that there was one difficulty which stood in the way, and that was Abyssinia's membership of the League. Abyssinia, like Liberia and China, should not have been allowed to cross the threshold of the establishment at Geneva, a sentiment endorsed by Mussolini in an interview with the Foreign Editor of the *Echo de Paris*, "Has the League of Nations become the tribunal before which all the Negroes and uncivilised peoples, all the world's savages, can bring the great nations which have revolutionised and transformed humanity?" said Mussolini.

Britain in the meanwhile was pursuing a policy of watchful waiting, as Italian troops, stores and arms were being transported to East Africa. The Suez Canal Company, controlled by Anglo-French capital, took no steps to prevent this waterway being used by Mussolini in preparing his warlike measures against a weak member State of the League. Where profits are concerned there is no morality among imperialists.

Alarmed by Italy's military preparations and the bellicose speeches of Mussolini, directed against Abyssinia, the Emperor again addressed an appeal to the League of Nations, on March 17, invoking Article 15 (also Article 10) of the Covenant. But again the Council, that is to say, England and France, its dominant members, declined to take action. Why should they, when at this time they were still hoping to get a share of the swag? But their cynical conduct was becoming too much for decent-minded people in England and other countries to tolerate, so under pressure of this section of world opinion, reflected in the anti-Fascist and liberal press in all democratic countries, the Council was forced to announce that the Abyssinian question would be discussed in May.

However, during the intervening period, England was busy carrying on secret negotiations. For Mussolini had kept Britain fully informed of his real intentions from the very beginning of the dispute. On January 9, 1935, the

dictator had instructed Signor Grandi, his representative in London, to inform the British Foreign Office that the Italian government was prepared to safeguard Britain's interest in Abyssinia in return for a free hand in East Africa. But what did Britain do? Did she protest? Did she expose this conspiracy between Italy and France to destroy the independence of a weak nation whose sovereignty she was pledged to defend under the League's Covenant? Absolutely no. Instead, the National Government, while publicly pretending to be indignant over Italy's threats against Abyssinia, secretly appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Moffat, to examine the situation and to report to the government on the extent to which Britain's imperialist interests would be affected by a change in the *status quo* in Abyssinia. The commission's report was presented to the government in June, five months before the war actually broke out. Nevertheless, it was kept secret from Parliament and the British electorate until its contents were disclosed in the Italian journal, the *Giornale d'Italia*, on February 19, 1936, when Mussolini wanted to expose Britain's hypocrisy to the world.

Indictment of Britain

This document not only indicts Britain for moral turpitude and indirect responsibility for what has happened to Abyssinia; for had the National Government been a sincere supporter of peace and the League, as it pretended to be, it had ample oportunity to avoid the slaughter of thousands of innocent people. But instead, its dilatory tactics merely facilitated Laval in carrying on his obstructionist manoeuvres in preventing the machinery of the League from coming into operation before Mussolini had committed himself to extreme measures. But by the time Britain attempted to mobilise the smaller powers in the League for sanctions against Italy, the war had already started.

The Moffat report also provides us with a very important clue to the understanding of a number of diplomatic events which occurred subsequent to the Duce's offer to Britain in January. We shall return to this aspect of the question later on.

Thanks to the persistent attitude of the Abyssinian government, the Wal-Wal dispute was finally placed on the agenda of the League on May 25, 1936. The Abyssinian delegation, however, was not allowed to participate in these discussions, which were conducted more or less secretly between her three traditional enemies—England, France and Italy. And as was to be expected, the only thing achieved was to throw dust in the eyes of the Abyssinians, and at the same time create the impression among the small powers and the British people that something was really being done to settle the dispute. In reality, just the opposite was being accomplished. The dilly-dallying conduct of England and France was being utilised by Italy to complete her military preparations for the most shameful outrage in modern history. Incidentally, this merely goes to prove that the League of Nations, dominated as it is by imperialist nations—the Soviet Union being a mere spectator—can never serve the cause of peace. It merely creates pacifist illusions in the minds of the workers and toiling masses of the world—who ardently desire peace—and in this way masks the diplomatic manoeuvres and military plans of the great imperialist powers. "League or no League, a state which has resolved on war can always have it," writes H. A. L. Fisher in *Modern Europe*. Japan conducted her war outside the League, while Italy found it more convenient to do so from within.

The League was even more impotent in the Abyssinian dispute than in the Manchurian crisis, for it ignored the invitation of the Emperor on June 19 to send neutral observers to Abyssinia at his government's expense, to report on the situation on the spot, so that the world might be informed as to the true state of affairs. The League's refusal to accept this pacific gesture of Haile Selassie showed to what extent it was being strangled by the great "peace-loving democratic" nations, England and France.

"Gone With the Wind"

From the committee this book got

the Pulitzer Prize

But from George S. Schuyler it gets

the Razzberry

Don't fail to secure your copy of the July CRISIS containing a scintillating article reviewing "Gone With the Wind," the novel of Georgia in the Civil War, which, according to Mr. Schuyler, contains little or nothing good about American Negroes.

Just about this time an event occurred in Europe which influenced more than any other factor subsequent developments in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. The Tories, peeved over the Franco-Soviet pact of May 2, and the Laval-Mussolini agreement, both of which strengthened the position of France on the continent, as well as the position of Italy in the Mediterranean and North East Africa, began to play their hand. The pro-German elements in the Cabinet succeeded in getting the National Government to sign a naval agreement with Hitler as a warning to France not to flirt with Moscow and Rome at Britain's expense! Such conduct on the part of the National Government had the effect of once more upsetting the balance of power brought into being by the Franco-Soviet *rapprochement* and Franco-Italian agreement, and dealt a death blow to the Stresa front. Central Europe became a diplomatic battleground between Germany and the Soviet Union for winning the support of the small powers—the Little Entente, Balkan Entente, the Baltic Entente,—while England and France and Italy were engaged in quarrelling over Abyssinia.

French indignation was aroused against Britain for having concluded a unilateral agreement outside of the League of Nations, while at the same time exploiting the League in the name of collective security, to bring pressure to bear upon her imperialist rival, Italy.

Bitter Anti-British Feeling

Never since the days of Fashoda was the French nationalist section of the press so bitter in its attack upon "Perfidious Albion." M. Henri Beraud, one of the outstanding French journalists and publicists, writing in *Gringoire*, of October, 1935, declared:

"Mussolini now knows that with regard to Italy, as with regard to the whole world, John Bull has only one policy, the policy of its bankers and merchants, and that the rights and needs of others have no more importance for the City than the skin of a Boer or the empty belly of a Hindu.

"Listen, John Bull, the traditional principle of your policy, the sole motive of your conduct, the doctrine professed at all times by your publicists and orators and practised at all times by your statesmen, is your exclusive interests.

"It is impossible to remember all the notorious examples of violence, perfidy, implacable egotism, and disloyalty with which your history is sullied. Disturbing nations; fomenting internal discord

(*Continued on next page*)

in order to exhaust them; arming the nations in the name of their independence, then abandoning them without pity; crushing, expropriating, decimating conquered peoples; all these acts abound in your history. You have never regarded them as anything but legitimate manifestations of your rights; you have always in your sincerity understood how to subordinate the principles of morality and right to the sacred deposit you call British interests. You treat humanity, justice, liberty, peace and war as business affairs. There is not a nation in the world which has not been the victim of your pride, your violence, your greed, your perfidy, your British honour. . . .

"There was that little affair of the Anglo-German naval agreement last summer. On April 16th the English solemnly signed a pact of mutual action with France and Italy at Stresa. Two months later these same English phlegmatically went to Berlin to discuss *tete-a-tete* with Herr Hitler a very different sort of pact.

"I am amongst those who think that English friendship is the cruelest gift that the gods can give a people. When I see England with the Bible in one hand and the Covenant in the other, defending the rights of the weak or the principles of justice, I cannot help believing that it is in her interest to do so. I believe also that this interest, always unchanging, is supported by a policy as old and as solid as the throne of Edward the Confessor. This policy consists of disturbing the continent in order to rule the seas. It consists of consciences, finding mercenaries and sowing discord; it consists of hindering peace between the nations; it consists of perching clergymen on strong boxes to preach renunciation to the poor. Such is the price the world must pay for British comfort. . . .

"I write this on my own responsibility. I speak only for myself. I hate this people. I hate them in my name and in the name of my ancestors. I hate them by instinct and by tradition. Should Great Britain be reduced to slavery? Yes. The Negus might be given the job."

League a "Thieves' Kitchen"

This wave of anti-British feeling which swept through the French press and even reflected itself in some of the left organs of public opinion, simply played into the hands of Laval, and enabled him to resist being stampeded in supporting Britain's demands for firm action. From then on Laval was able openly to collaborate with Mussolini's henchman, Baron Aloisi, at Geneva. For how could British publicists criticise his conduct as a sabotageur of the League when their government, which only a few months before had identified itself with other League powers in condemning Hitler for repudiating the military clauses of Versailles by rearming, turned around behind the backs of France and Italy and entered into a treaty with the German government, outside of the League? Britain's action, instead of enhancing the prestige of the **League,** struck an irreparable blow at the Geneva institution and made it absolutely impossible for concerted action to be taken against Mussolini in Africa.

What is the political lesson to be drawn from this breakdown of the League? It shows that as soon as England and France, the real Powers behind the League, got to wrangling, Italy was able to go about her business unhampered. For the Soviet Union, the only other great Power on the Council, while formally a member of the League, is so dependent upon France through the Franco-Soviet agreement, which up till then had not been ratified, that she could not afford to jeopardize her position in exposing the League for what it is—a thieves' kitchen as characterized by Lenin. It is exactly this irreconcilable clash of interests among the imperialist powers which makes it impossible for the League to pursue a common policy when major crises arise. Because of the very character of imperialism, which is nationalistic and competitive, each power tends to approach international issues from the point of view of its own national interests, and only when those interests are being threatened is it prepared to take risks.

"We are faced at Geneva with the following reality: that the powers—large and small—carry their difficulties and their conflicts of interest to the League of Nations," wrote Signor Dino Grandi, Italian Ambassador at London. "These conflicts do not shrink at Geneva, they expand. The great powers in conflict with one another, seek for allies among the lesser powers and form hostile groups which complicate and aggravate the situation; the small states court the support of the great powers who, in order to maintain their diplomatic combinations, at once take sides. Thus all the disputes brought to Geneva finish sooner or later, either directly or indirectly, as conflicts between great powers.

"During my stay at Geneva I never saw a dispute of any importance settled otherwise than by an agreement between the great powers. They alone are responsible for the situations that arise. A few states that remain outside of fixed diplomatic combinations and are therefore able to maintain an independent attitude, have from time to time exercised a conciliatory influence at Geneva. But this only happens in the case of secondary disputes, and, moreover, the lesser powers, not having at their disposal the forces that might become necessary to back up their action, are themselves compelled to have recourse to the great powers.

"The whole of Geneva procedure is, in fact, a system of *detours,* all of which lead to one or other of these two issues: agreement or disagreement between Great Britain, Italy, France and Germany—the latter now formally absent, but not yet entirely detached from the League."

It is interesting to compare this cynical yet realistic evaluation of the League with the point of view put forward by M. Litvinov at Geneva on July 1, 1936, in which he stated *inter alia* "There have been attempts to ascribe this lack of success to the League Covenant, to its objects and *to the present composition* of the League. From this are drawn far-reaching conclusions, which may lead to the result that, together with Ethiopian independence, the League itself may turn out to have been buried as well. Such attempts and conclusions must be decisively rejected."

National Problems Uppermost

In the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, what were the interests involved? First, Abyssinia, a semi-colonial country, was concerned in safeguarding her independence and so looked to the League for protection. Italy on the other hand, was out to conquer Abyssinia, and expected the League to help her achieve this purpose. Britain, an imperialist power that has annexed many an Abyssinia in her history, didn't care a fig whether Abyssinia was conquered or not. Her only concern was, if a change in the *status quo* had to take place, that she should get her share of the swag. But it so happened that Italy in pursuing her main objective, clashed with British imperialism. Britain therefore expected the League to help her safeguard her Mediterranean and North African position against Italy. France on the other hand, was more interested at that particular time in what was happening across the Rhine and in Central Europe. So here we have four nations, each concerned with what it considered its own vital problem, but all looking to the same institution to solve these irreconcilable interests. The League is a political Babel, each nation speaking its own language.

Under these circumstances "collective security" can only operate if the interests of the chief imperialist powers —as for example, France and England —happen to be threatened at the same time and by the same enemy. In other

(*Continued on page* 178)

Of the Character of Courage

By Dorsey C. Kiddie

A story of the color line—of a few drops of blood and a Virginia tradition

SOMEHOW I knew the minute the doctor beckoned to me to come into his office from the reception room what he had to tell me. Not about myself—I'd just been in the neighborhood and had stopped by to ask about something that had been bothering Betty, my youngest girl—but concerning himself. For the last two months, ever since I'd seen that article in the paper, I'd been dreading this moment. I was conscious of that now, and I knew, too, that I'd been forcing myself to laugh, like a ventriloquist's dummy, whenever the thing had popped up in my mind. I'd been telling myself that there was some absurd mistake—the paper had the names mixed—but always I had hid my suspicions away again with an elaborate show of indifference and no little haste.

And now it was to be resurrected, this time by the doctor, and figuratively spread out upon his desk so that I would have to examine it, this ugly thought. I'd really known the truth all along, I suppose; I hadn't quite been able to fool myself. Yet it would be shocking. I felt rather sick; I wished I hadn't come.

I sat down at the side of the doctor's desk and looked at him. His hair was black and slick with just a suggestion of a narrow wave in it. His eyes were black and shiny, and his skin was sallow. His features were heavy but well-hewed—there were no sloppy lines running over into other lines—and his expression was solemn. The doctor wore a white gown, covering him, back of his desk there, from just up under his chin to down around his pudgy wrists. I regarded his hands. Now they lay inert, soft, and fat, but I had seen those same hands galvanized into motion and act with the sure swiftness of some mechanized thing, hovering for a minute and then darting and lighting exactly where the doctor intended.

He began to talk. "Mrs. Vincent, the last time I spoke to you, the time you called me to laugh about what you thought was a mistake in the paper, I realized suddenly that you didn't know something I thought you had known all along."

"Yes, Dr. Lewis?" I murmured. (Stop, it might make a difference.)

"Mrs. Allison first brought you to me, you remember, before your appendectomy, and because Mrs. Allison has known me so long—she was at St. Bartholomew's before she married—I took it for granted that she had told you about me."

"She told me you were the best surgeon at the hospital." I said. (Let us leave it at that, please.)

The doctor spread his hands out in front of him and looked at them. "I am a good surgeon," he said, quite softly. He was silent for a minute, and then he raised his head—he held it tall and looked out the window, not seeing what was there. I noticed again the planes of his nose, long and straight, and his high forehead. Suddenly the doctor came directly to the point, as if his surgeon's mind had decided that delay only made it worse. "Mrs. Vincent—that article in the paper, the one about the new South Wabash clinic run by colored doctors for colored people—I am the doctor mentioned in that article. Even after I talked to you over the phone—you asked me if I had seen the article, laughing about the similarity in names, and I replied that I had and that I didn't care for that kind of publicity—you evidently still didn't realize the truth. I suppose you thought I was joking. But I was not. I am an octoroon, Mrs. Vincent."

I sat quite still. Automatically my mind began moving in the same track, to cover up, to rationalize. This new fact—this thing which could not be assimilated—this did not concern Dr. Lewis. It was someone else. I knew all about Dr. Lewis. He had been our friend for over five years. He had been sympathy; he had been common sense; he had been security. That time after mother died, when all I could think of was that I hadn't been with her, hadn't been able to talk to her. That time when David and I had been on the verge of separation, and again when Betty was born. I remembered floating around in pain, thick, stifling pain for hours on end, and every time I floated out too far, a strong hand pulled me back and anchored me. I was terribly mixed up—I thought the hand was God's, but it was only the doctor's.

Then, too, we had talked to him about so many things, David and I. We had talked about books, about pictures. The doctor had a season ticket for the symphony. Why, the doctor was just like a familiar view to us, we knew him so well. He liked the things we liked; he talked our language. He sent his son to the Art Institute. Ah, no, there could be nothing new about this man, this Jew, who David said had borrowed a good old Welsh name somewhere. David, my Welsh husband, had told me the doctor was a Jew—and David had known lots of Jews. David said because he was such a damn fine Jew, he could forgive his borrowing a Welsh name—Dr. Thomas Lewis.

"I'LL tell you, Mrs. Vincent. I have liked you and your husband. We have been good friends. I always thought you knew about me. I grew up in a little town in southern Indiana, on a farm—my family has lived there for several generations. There is a cousin, John Lewis, running the farm now. Well, when I was sixteen, I fell in love. The girl was in my class at high school. It was only puppy love, of course, but with me none the less serious. I thought of this girl continually, talked to her whenever I could, walked home from school with her. One day her mother saw us, and the next day the mother paid a visit to the school. I saw her talking to the principal, but I didn't think anything of it. When I went home that day at noon, my mother told me she wanted to talk to me—I was not to go back to school for the afternoon. I remember it so well, Mrs. Vincent. It was a drizzly day, an early spring day. My mother took me into our living room after lunch and locked the door. We were there for five hours—and all the while it rained and rained against the windows. I went into that room a boy—but I came out a man.

"You once told me, Mrs. Vincent, that you suspected I had no sense of humor. Well—perhaps I left it in the living room that rainy spring day." He had turned around to smile at me, but I didn't smile back. My face was numb.

He continued. "My grandmother was a mulatto. She was very beautiful when she was young. My grandfather was a Welshman. He started our farm. People knew of it in the town where I lived, but for some reason no one had ever spoken of it to me. I don't know why mother had never told me. Perhaps she hoped I would never know. Her blood was mixed, too.

(Continued on next page)

There are many of us, Mrs. Vincent—so many that you wouldn't believe it."

I managed to say something. "It must have been awful," I murmured. It wasn't the right thing to say, but again the doctor smiled.

"No, don't say that. It has not been so bad as you think—or as I thought when I first knew of it. What I have minded most is that no matter what I accomplish, I shall never be head surgeon at any hospital—St. Bartholomew's or any other. I should like that some day—but it can't happen. However, there are compensations. I have been able to help many others like myself who were not so easily adjusted to life. As you can see—" he nodded toward a framed diploma hanging on the wall—"I have deceived people at times. In school I felt it was a wise thing, but later, some few years ago, I went back to the other side. That's what we call it, Mrs. Vincent, going back to the other side. And I have helped others—I know I have."

He waited. He looked at me. "I hope it won't make too much difference. It may now—I realize how you have been brought up—but I think you will decide differently later."

————how I had been brought up. I had a mental picture of my mother; I remembered her voice. 'Dahlin', she had called me. I saw my grandmother, and I thought again of a scene forgotten since childhood. My grandfather stumping along a gravel path, a little black girl standing at the edge of the path and staring at grandfather with the bland, curious gaze of the young. 'Go along, child, go along,' said grandfather irritably, waving his cane at her. The little girl, startled, ran to a young colored woman, who stooped and picked her up. Grandfather called to her, 'Johannah, is that your young one?' 'Yas suh, Cap'n Lacy, yas suh.' 'Well, teach the little black devil not to stare. Drat it, you know better than that.' He stomped on down the path muttering under his breath————

I stood up to leave. I had quite forgotten about everything but this new fact. I must accustom myself to it. I wasn't sure I would be able to. It was contrary to sentiments I had formed quite definitely, long ago. It was too sudden—too radical a change. I must get away from the doctor in order to think about it.

"Goodbye, Dr. Lewis. I—I don't know what to say. It's rather a shock."

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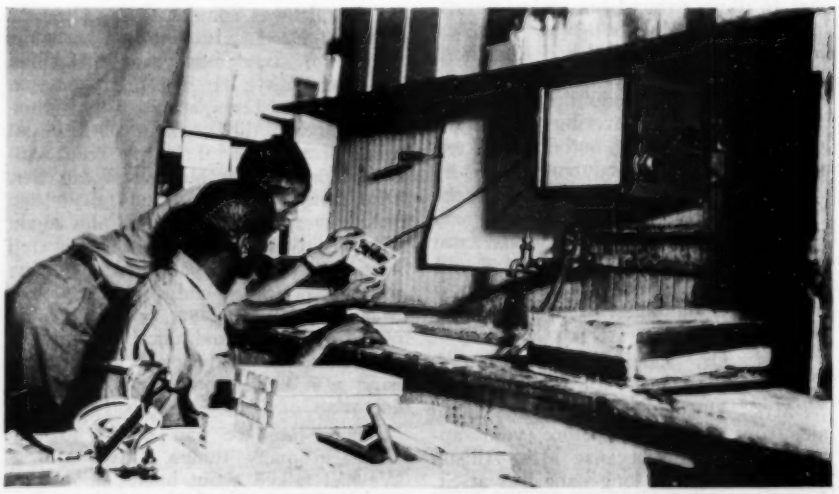

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There are many of us, Mrs. Vincent—so many that you wouldn't believe it."

I managed to say something. "It must have been awful," I murmured. It wasn't the right thing to say, but again the doctor smiled.

"No, don't say that. It has not been so bad as you think—or as I thought when I first knew of it. What I have minded most is that no matter what I accomplish, I shall never be head surgeon at any hospital—St. Bartholomew's or any other. I should like that some day—but it can't happen. However, there are compensations. I have been able to help many others like myself who were not so easily adjusted to life. As you can see—" he nodded toward a framed diploma hanging on the wall—"I have deceived people at times. In school I felt it was a wise thing, but later, some few years ago, I went back to the other side. That's what we call it, Mrs. Vincent, going back to the other side. And I have helped others—I know I have."

He waited. He looked at me. "I hope it won't make too much difference. It may now—I realize how you have been brought up—but I think you will decide differently later."

————how I had been brought up. I had a mental picture of my mother; I remembered her voice. 'Dahlin', she had called me. I saw my grandmother, and I thought again of a scene forgotten since childhood. My grandfather stumping along a gravel path, a little black girl standing at the edge of the path and staring at grandfather with the bland, curious gaze of the young. 'Go along, child, go along,' said grandfather irritably, waving his cane at her. The little girl, startled, ran to a young colored woman, who stooped and picked her up. Grandfather called to her, 'Johannah, is that your young one?' 'Yas suh, Cap'n Lacy, yas suh.' 'Well, teach the little black devil not to stare. Drat it, you know better than that.' He stomped on down the path muttering under his breath————

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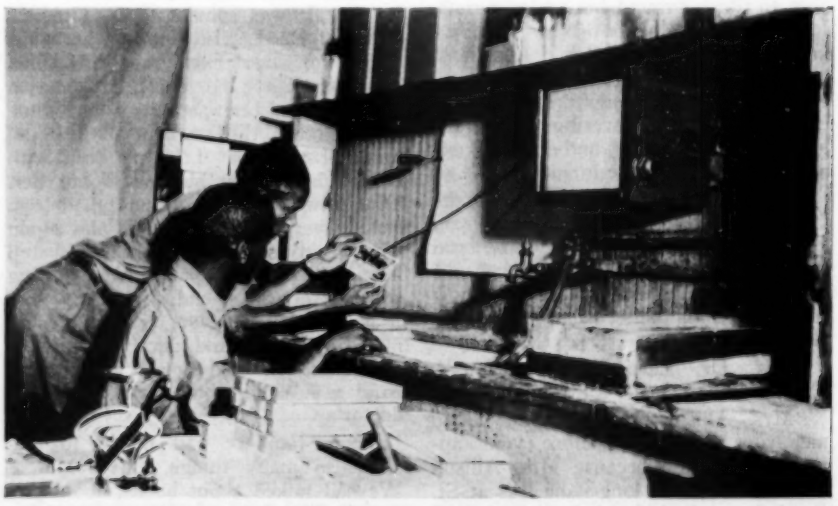

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don in order that the South might preserve its "white supremacy." J. Evetts Haley, Jeffersonian Democratic leader in Texas, wrote a Landon campaign broadside, "The Negro and the New Deal Vote," which was an undisguised provocation to lynching.

If the Republican party were honest, it would inscribe on its banner, "The Party of Fascism." Backed by every fierce reactionary in the country and expressing completely the ideology of Big Business, the organization may well become the political assembly for our tenpenny Hitlers. Need we be reminded that the Black Legion masked as "the Wolverine Republican Club," and that this same organization murdered a kidnaped Negro worker in order "to see him squirm?"

The two major parties of the Left have made strong efforts to capture the imagination and the vote of the Negro. Certainly no one can question the value of Norman Thomas as a national influence. Mr. Thomas clearly symbolizes the great tradition represented also by Eugene Debs, Thomas Paine, and the Abolitionists. But I have encountered far too many of his southern disciples who are unworthy of their master. The Socialist party of the South is a white man's party with the few Negro members being generally enrolled in separate locals. Some of the most bitter expressions that I have ever heard concerning the Negro were pronounced by southerners who carried membership cards in the Socialist party. And unfortunately for a group faced with specific racial problems, the Socialists seem doomed by their own sterile dogmatism.

The Communists may often have been foolhardy and sectarian. But they have been sincere to the point of shedding blood for the Negro, while one of the race has twice been the party's candidate for vice-president. The Southern Communists have always disregarded color-lines, often being flogged or imprisoned for their flagrant defiance of local mores. To the forces set in motion by the Communists, we owe the growing feeling of southern white labor that its economic interests are similar to those of Negro workers. To them, also, we owe the lives of the Scottsboro boys although the party's original attitude toward the N.A.A.C.P. almost wrecked a defense which should have been united from the first.

Promise in Farmer-Labor Party

If political relations were matters of strict logic, Negroes should support en masse the evolving Farmer-Labor party. The workers and farmers—white and Negro—must take the decisive steps if America is to be socially transformed. However, there is still much to be desired in all the platforms of the proposed Farmer-Labor groupings which I have read. Aside from vague platitudes, none of these platforms have any pronouncements for basic social change. In this epoch of capitalism with its brewing storms, efforts to reform the system from within are much like efforts to dry up the ocean by bailing it with tin cups.

Worse still, the Farmer-Labor party may easily become a choice assortment of crackpots, visionaries, and unscrupulous opportunists. Its nominees for office might be gentlemen intent upon making careers out of labor politics and who, faced with an actual crisis, would desert their toiling constituents for the Fascist bandwagon. If the leaders of the Farmer-Labor party in the South are drawn from the trade union bureaucracy and from the smug liberals of the Protestant congregations, that party is not liable to jeopardize its chances for immediate growth by championing equal rights for Negroes.

But there is still another possibility. Whatever the defects of the proposed Farmer-Labor party, it does represent a growing mass tendency of the economic group to which the majority of American Negroes belong. Surely, in the present case, it is a better bargain than the other political propositions which are offered to the race. Moreover, the Farmer-Labor party will be a medium for protecting and extending civil liberties—a question which vitally interests every Negro in the country.

But if the Negro is to receive any benefits, he must assert his demands positively and immediately in the Farmer-Labor councils, North and South. Otherwise, the party will be built with scant concessions to the race. Given the organizations' existence as a current mass tendency, its rank-and-file may eventually demand change instead of compromise. If the Negro is to survive, he must weld himself into that rank and file.

SOME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK CRISIS COMMITTEE

Miss Molly Lewis — *Dr. Myra Logan* — *Miss Lucile Armistead*, Chairman — *Mrs. Sarah Dunston*, Chairman, sponsors — *Mrs. Rae Olley Mills*, Chairman, entertainments — *Miss Louise Logan*, Secretary

Woodard Photos

The New York Crisis Committee was organized in May, 1936, for the purpose of assisting THE CRISIS. *In the last year, it has raised a total of* $494. *Two methods were used: The soliciting of sponsors and associate sponsors and the giving of entertainments. Sponsors pay* $5 *a year and associate sponsors* $3 *a year for a subscription. The excess over the subscription price of* $1.50 *goes into* THE CRISIS *treasury. Two entertainments were given: A cotton ball in July, which netted* $97, *and a matinee dance in February, which netted* $135. *The committee is planning a program of important events for next fall and winter. Other photographs of members of the committee and sponsors will appear in succeeding issues of* THE CRISIS

Philadelphia's Building and Loan Associations

By I. Maximilian Martin

For fifty years Philadelphia Negroes have been operating building and loan associations. Today there are twenty-three Negro-managed associations with total assets of $2,000,000

TODAY when much is heard on all sides about cooperation as a means of solving our present economic plight, and particularly that of the Negro, it may come as a surprise to the reader to learn that for the past fifty years Philadelphia Negroes have been successfully conducting a type of cooperative enterprise—the building and loan association. At the present time there are over twenty building and loan associations in Philadelphia operated by Negroes and they have total resources of more than $2,000,000.

The first building and loan association in the United States was organized more than a century ago in Philadelphia in 1831. This first association proved to be a success and as a result, numerous others were started until Philadelphia became a center of building and loan activity. The fact that Philadelphia has been called "the city of homes" can be attributed in no small degree to the assistance given home-buyers by these associations.

What is a building and loan association? A building and loan association is a cooperative organization whose purpose is to enable its members to accumulate savings by means of small periodic payments and help them to purchase homes. It is organized under a state or federal charter, must file annual reports of its affairs and is subject to the supervision and examination of the state or federal banking examiners. The association derives its income from lending its money on mortgages to members who wish to buy homes. In the small association the meetings are held once a week or once a month at a hall, thus saving the expense of a regular office and generally all officers serve without compensation except the secretary who acts as manager and receives a small salary. In this way expenses are kept at a minimum, providing larger profits for the members.

Since Revolutionary days there has been a fairly large group of free Negroes living in Philadelphia. Even before the Civil War some of them were conducting substantial businesses and a number of them had accumulated property. It is not strange then that we find that half a century ago the first association managed by Negroes was formed. This first association, the Century Building and Loan Association, was organized on October 26, 1886 and received its charter on December 23 of that same year. On its application for charter are found the names of a number of members of old and respected Negro families.

The following year another association, the Berean, was founded by the Rev. Matthew Anderson, who also founded the Berean Presbyterian Church and the Berean Manual Training School. This association had on its original board not only prominent colored citizens, but also well known white persons who were interested in helping Negroes secure better homes. The third group to be organized was the Pioneer Building and Loan Association which was formed in 1888 and chartered in 1889.

Impossible to Get Homes

The conditions giving rise to the formation of these first associations are described by Dr. Anderson in his book "Presbyterianism and Its Relation to the Negro." In it he relates that prior to that time it was almost an impossibility for a colored person to obtain a decent house to live in, for the landlords seemed determined to relegate all Negroes, regardless of their character or education, to the slums and most undesirable back streets. The only way in which Negroes could obtain decent homes was by buying them. The building and loan association seemed to be the only salvation of the Negro because it enabled a person of small means to buy a house by making a small down payment and paying off the balance in installments over a period of years.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois mentions these first three associations in his book "The Philadelphia Negro," published in 1897 and states that they had at that time loans outstanding amounting to $95,000. Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century about five new associations were organized. The 1907 report of the Pennsylvania Department of Banking reveals that the Negro-managed associations in that year had resources which were slightly over $200,000 and approximately 1,000 members.

The one person who was perhaps most responsible for the widespread growth of the building and loan movement among colored people was George W. Mitchell, a member of the bar and a graduate of Howard University Law School. From 1905 until his death in 1931, Mr. Mitchell's name was found on the application for charter of most of the associations organized during that time and at the time of his death he was solicitor and director of nearly twenty associations. Mr. Mitchell's work was particularly valuable during the years following 1917 when the large migration of Negroes to Philadelphia from the South began. Within a few years the Negro population of Philadelphia doubled, creating a demand for increased housing facilities and a number of new associations were started to help the newcomers purchase homes. In 1926 there were thirty-six associations in existence and a monthly paper—"The Monthly Home Visitor"—devoted to their interests was published and distributed by the various associations to their members.

In 1930 just before the real effects of the depression were felt, the colored associations reported total assets of more than $3,000,000. In the past few years several associations have merged or liquidated their assets and gone out of business.

At the present time there are twenty-three building and loan associations in Philadelphia operated by Negroes and their total resources at the end of 1935 were more than $2,000,000. The writer was able to secure the 1935 annual report as submitted to the Pennsylvania Department of Banking from 19 of these groups. A combined statement of financial condition of these associations was prepared and showed total resources of $1,865,775.39. The assets of the three associations which did not furnish statements totalled more than $200,000.

The major part of the associations' funds is invested in mortgage loans on homes which are being purchased by their members. More than $1,200,000 has been placed in such loans. The borrowing members who used these funds to acquire homes are repaying their mortgages in monthly installments. Stock loans, representing advances made

(*Continued on next page*)

to members on the security of their own savings in the associations, amount to $59,000. Real estate, consisting of properties taken over through foreclosure in cases where the former owners could not keep up their monthly payments, is carried at a valuation of $293,000. This property will be disposed of by the associations as the real estate market revives sufficiently to enable them to get a fair price for it. Delinquent payments to be collected from members amount to $143,000. The cash holdings of the associations amount to $59,000. The balance of the resources includes United States Bonds, judgment notes, taxes advanced for stockholders and miscellaneous items.

One $600,000 Unit

Members or stockholders of the association have paid in the sum of $900,000 and in addition have been apportioned earnings amounting to $131,000, making a total of $1,115,000 due them for their savings. Members who have given notice of their intention to withdraw from the associations are due $212,000. The amount of borrowed money owed by the associations is very small, amounting to only $33,000.

In order to safeguard their members against any losses to be suffered in the future on mortgage loans which turn out to be bad or real estate which declines in value, the building and loan associations have set aside special reserves amounting to $489,000.

The associations vary in size from several associations with assets of approximately $27,000 up to one association with assets of over $600,000. Seven associations have assets of from $25,000 to $50,000; eight, assets of from $50,000 to $100,000; three, assets of from $100,000 to $150,000, and one association has assets of over $150,000.

The earnings of the associations were divided among their members at rates ranging from about 1½% to 7%. The typical rate, however, was 3%. This rate is much lower than that earned in former years by these associations because of present economic conditions. It compares favorably, however, with the present rate of interest allowed by Philadelphia banks on savings accounts.

Philadelphia's Negro-managed building and loan associations have rendered a valuable service to the community by encouraging thrift and helping people to own their own homes. By and large these associations have been managed as efficiently as those operated by any other group in the city. In fact, it seems that these associations have fared better than many others because their loans were principally confined to residential properties occupied by their owners, whereas other groups have loaned on commercial and speculative properties and suffered losses on them.

Regular Loans Restricted

Unfortunately, a condition has grown up in Philadelphia whereby many of the major lending agencies have adopted a policy of refusing to consider mortgage loans on properties owned by colored people or else offering to lend only a ridiculously small amount, regardless of the value of the property or the character and financial responsibilty of the prospective borrower. This will throw an even greater responsiblity on the Negro-managed associations in the next few years with the revival of the real estate market and the attendant desire of many people to purchase homes. Upon the support given these institutions by the members of the Negro community will greatly depend the extent to which colored people will be able to acquire desirable housing accommodations in decent neighborhoods in the future. With aggressive business tactics, cooperation and in some cases consolidation of some of the associations there is no reason why the societies should not be able to expand sufficiently to take care of the mortgage loan requirements of their potential clientele.

The record of these Philadelphia associations over the past half-century should interest persons in other communities where Negroes are encountering difficulty in obtaining mortgage money. Every state has provision for the organization of building and loan associations and recently federal statutes have been enacted providing for the same. Like most cooperative enterprises, only a comparatively small initial capital investment is needed—the principal requirements being a strong nucleus of responsible and interested people who are willing to start a systematic savings program and work wholeheartedly and unselfishly to put the organization on a sound financial basis. There is much room for the growth of the building and loan association movement among colored people throughout the United States.

NOTICE TO GRADUATES

Information and pictures of graduates from colleges and universities will appear as usual in The Crisis in the August number, out about July 26.

Schools and individuals are invited to send pictures and information about graduates to reach The Crisis not later than July 1.

Lincoln University (Pa.) Gets African Art

Lincoln University, in Pa., was presented recently with a fine collection of African art by the Rev. Irvin W. Underhill, Jr., a missionary here on furlough from his station in the Cameroons, West Africa. During his many years in West Africa the Rev. Underhill became deeply interested in the great artistic abilities of the people and began a collection of their art. The presentation to Lincoln university was made as a memorial to his deceased wife, Susan Reynolds Underhill. The formal presentation was made in Philadelphia where the curios and works of art were displayed and explained by Mr. Underhill. Formal acceptance was by President W. L. Wright. Mr. Underhill promised the university to add to the collection from time to time.

Returning to Africa

The Rev. Mr. Underhill, Jr., who has been on leave in America since last fall, is sailing the end of June to return to his post in the French Cameroons in West Africa. Mr. Underhill has been lecturing before various groups and doing some writing. While in this country he received notice that he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

Summer Theatre School at Atlanta University

A school of the theatre, with courses in speech and body movement, play directing and theatre arts, will be conducted as a part of the 1937 Atlanta university summer school. The work will be carried on in conjunction with the fourth season of the Atlanta university summer theatre, and will be designed particularly to serve students and teachers who plan to work in dramatics in schools and colleges. The school will be the first of its kind to be maintained by an institution of higher education for Negroes.

Work will be carried on by a staff of experts under the general direction of Miss Anne M. Cooke, who has been a member of the Spelman college faculty since 1928 and is director of dramatics for the Atlanta university system. She will teach the course in acting and serve as director of the summer theatre; John M. Ross, also of the Atlanta university faculty of fine arts, will conduct the course in directing. J. W. Butcher, Jr., assistant in English at Howard university, and a graduate of the University of Illinois, who has done special work this past year at the University of Iowa, will direct the work in speech.

Pushkin's Negro Blood

By Guichard Parris

APPARENTLY prompted by the desire to warn those critics who "allow their imaginations to run wild on the fetching question of the Negro blood which Pushkin inherited from his mother," Ernest J. Simmons, writer of the first full-length biography in English of Pushkin, devotes some space to the discussion of his Negro ancestry. He tells us that Pushkin liked to think of his great grandfather as a Negro but it would be difficult to say how much, if any, Negro blood ran in the veins of Abram Petrovich Hannibal. All of this is reasonabe to believe; but Mr. Simmons goes further. Since Pushkin insisted upon this fact then Mr. Simmons feels that he cannot "dismiss . . . the whole muddled question of Negro blood."

Eugene Gordon, a Moscow newspaper correspondent, in one of the brilliant essays on Pushkin that I have read, tells us it is true that "Pushkin did not possess as much information about his great grandfather as we have today. But the Soviet government has spared no efforts, regardless of the difficulties involved, in digging up facts about Pushkin's ancestry. This rich material is for the first time made available . . . especially to the Negro people of the United States, who honor Pushkin not only because of his Negro blood, but because he fought oppression."

Gannibal or Hannibal as he is more commonly known, was not a Negro according to Mr. Simmons, but an Abyssinian who hailed from Lagon in northern Abyssinia. "History flung into this melting pot (of Abyssinia) Beja, Somalis, Arabs, Turks, Hebrews, Portuguese, Negroes . . . The fairest description of the population of Abyssinia is that it is largely of Hamitic and Semitic base, with a Negro admixture. That is, the Abyssinians belong fundamentally to the Caucasian division of races."

I am not in a position to discuss the doubtful ethnological question involved at this point, but I believe that I am on firm ground when I remind Mr. Simmons that on his *own* admission (apart from all other evidence) of the admixture of Negro blood that courses through the veins of Abyssinians, we must in these United States consider the Abyssinians as Negroes. Of course, we may pardon him for these "hair-splitting" statements when we consider the serious attempts that are being made in certain quarters of the globe to place the Japanese people in the Aryan niche

Pushkin's Wife

to fit very nicely into a pet current political doctrine.

It is reassuring and very comforting, on the other hand, to discover that another Harvard scholar, T. Franklin Currier, in a note which accompanies a reprint of a unique essay on Alexander Pushkin from the pen of the American poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, writes: "And it is natural that Whittier should single him (Pushkin) for attention because his Negro ancestry formed a telling argument for those who were promoting the rights of the black man in America in 1847."

Praised as Negro by Whittier

Whittier saw in Pushkin what the present descendants of the African in Europe and the Americas see in him on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the poet's death: "We have alluded to this remarkable man," insisted Whittier, "for the purpose of exposing the utter folly of the common prejudice against the colored race in this country. . . . Do not Toussaint's deeds for freedom, and Pushkin's songs of a great nation, waken within all hearts the sympathies of a common nature?" Today we still have within our ranks those who, like Mr. Simmons, would deny us the right to honor men like Pushkin and Alexander Dumas.

Mr. Simmons claims that Pushkin did not write his own biography. But since the poet left a sketch of his genealogical history which probably was to have formed the basis of an autobiography which the bullet of an assassin prevented him from completing, we should be grateful to the translator who has furnished the poet's *Genealogy* printed above. The work tells its own story.

Notwithstanding what has been said by the detractors of the Negro, we can be assured that the poet looked Negroid. "The Negro blood in Pushkin," says the great American critic William Lyons Phelps, "is shown most strikingly in the portrait of his school days. Any one who saw that without knowing who it was would believe it to be a full-blooded Negro."

As the world honors the memory of the greatest Russian poet, let us as descendants of the African do all our share to join in the celebration of him through whose veins there coursed some African blood.

Dett Oratorio Praised

The playing for the first time anywhere on May 7 of the oratorio "The Ordering of Moses" by R. Nathaniel Dett during the Cincinnati Music Festival under the direction of Eugene Goossens brought forth much acclaim for the composer, among which was the following editorial in the Cincinnati *Times-Star* for May 8:

"Friday night at Music Hall the American Negro may be said to have come into his own, musically speaking. The occasion was the first performance anywhere of 'The Ordering of Moses,' an oratorio by Dr. Robert Nathaniel Dett. In choosing this as the representative American work for the 1937 May Festival, Conductor Goossens paid deserved honor to a musical leader of a musically gifted race. Dr. Dett, who was formerly director of music at Hampton Institute, is a distinguished composer. He is also a man with deep interest and pride in his people. The work to which he devoted ten years uses the familiar story of the Exodus as a framework on which is woven a tone pattern depicting the spiritual yearning, the sorrows and joys that have attended the rise of his people up from bondage. A Negro folk text, based upon the familiar scriptural story, supplies the words. Negro spirituals were the inspiration for some of the melodies of a work both beautiful and strangely moving.

" 'The Ordering of Moses' is said to be the most impressive Negro contribution to music. Instead of searching far afield for a subject, Dr. Dett has looked into the heart of his people and composed what he saw there. As a result he has added something important to American culture."

Mississippi Sends a Message to Congress

THE CHALLENGE

Editorials

Some Senators Are Your Friends

IN the pressure for passage of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill in the Senate, it should be remembered by the people back home that more than half the senators are friendly to this legislation. Letters should be written them in that spirit. They should not be approached as enemies and no foolish threats should be made. It is sufficient to tell your senator an anti-lynching bill is desired *at this session of Congress* and that while you know he is friendly to the Gavagan bill, you want him to use all his influence on the leaders of the Senate to get them to bring the bill up for a vote. Tell him you do not think the people will be satisfied to hear him say he will vote for the bill "when and if it reaches the floor." Ask him to get busy and help it reach the floor, because——

It Can Be Passed

A POLL has just been completed in Washington asking senators whether or not they favored the passage of the Gavagan bill. Forty-seven answered positively that they would vote for the bill. Nine answered that they favored it with reservations. Only 20 answered that they were opposed. Eighteen said they were uncertain and one was absent. Among the 18 listed as "uncertain" are eight or ten senators whom the N.A.A.C.P. is reasonably certain will vote for the bill.

This poll means that the Gavagan bill will pass the senate by a wide majority if it can be got up for a vote. The first step toward this end was taken last week when a sub-committee of the judiciary committee of the senate was appointed to consider it. The sub-committee is the same one which considered the Costigan-Wagner bill on two previous occasions and reported favorably both times.

The Young South Speaks

THE passage of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill by the House, April 15 was, of course, a concrete tribute to the work of those who have campaigned for such legislation, but perhaps the most satisfying aspect of the whole matter is the reaction from the liberal white South and particularly the young white South.

After all, the eradication of lynching is going to come about through the education of public opinion in the areas where lynching is now regarded as necessary to the maintenance of such government as exists. The supporters of a federal anti-lynching bill believe such legislation will speed the education of that public opinion.

So it is heartening to read the comments coming from certain southern daily papers and from the students of Millsaps college, (white) located in Jackson, Miss., and other southern colleges.

These opinions represent the real gains won by the crusaders against lynching. No stone must be left unturned to secure the passage of the Gavagan bill in the Senate but it must be remembered always that the sure cure for mob violence will be the operation of a public opinion in the South which will take prompt and drastic action against such outbreaks.

There is evidence that even in Mississippi the speeches and writings reminiscent of 1870 are not being swallowed by the young people of 1937. The young white South is a few decades ahead of Representatives Rankin of Mississippi, Cox of Georgia, and Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina.

Death to Men And Freedom

THE civilized world stands shocked at the slaughter rained from the skies upon Guernica, the Holy City of the Basques in northern Spain. German bombing planes working for the Fascist General Franco sent a hail of bombs and bullets upon the helpless civilian population, first bombing them from their shelters and then cutting them down with machine guns as they ran for their lives.

A year ago Fascist aviators for Mussolini were swooping their big bombing machines over the mud villages of Ethiopia and blotting out the lives of women and children. The world murmured, but it did not cry out as it has done at Guernica.

The ghastly Fascist philosophy of force is thus laid bare for all the world to see. It matters not whether the Fascists are Italians or Germans and the victims Basques or Ethiopians, Fascism means death to men and to freedom. As George Padmore phrases it elsewhere in this issue: yesterday Ethiopia, today Spain, tomorrow——?

Everybody's Fight

FOR being denied the right in Arkansas to occupy space in a Pullman car for which he held tickets, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell is suing the railroad and the Pullman company for $50,000 damages. Mr. Mitchell was forced by the conductor to ride in the Jim Crow car. If this is to be truly, as Mr. Mitchell has announced, the opening gun in a fight against Jim Crow cars and the whole Jim Crow idea, then every individual and agency believing in justice and equality should join in the fight. Such a fight can be waged more effectively around a Negro congressman than around any other person. Already Mr. Mitchell's suit has received widespread publicity in the daily press and the weekly magazines, thus notifying millions of persons of a condition about which many of them knew nothing. Many new crusaders against this unfairness can be recruited. The congressman from Illinois has challenged an obnoxious condition and the campaign should be pressed with all determination.

Come to Detroit

THE major problems facing Negro Americans will be discussed at the 28th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Detroit, Mich., June 29-July 1. The whole question of labor and security and industrial unions (CIO) will be gone over by experts. Further consideration will be given methods to aid agricultural workers. The campaign against inequalities in education will be a chief topic as will more intensive methods to secure the franchise in states where colored citizens are now denied the ballot. A dozen lesser subjects will be treated and brilliant, authoritative speakers will address the evening mass meetings. Important matters having to do with the business affairs of the N.A.A.C.P. will be taken up by the delegates in order to build a still more effective association. The newly organized youth councils and college chapters will have a challenging program for the youth delegates to the conference. Branches which have not already done so should elect and send as many delegates as possible. Come to Detroit!

Abyssinia Betrayed

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words, if Germany were to attack France or Belgium, for that matter, Britain would naturally support France because of her geographical position. For an attack against France not only threatens Britain's imperialist interests but menaces her very national existence. In such a case England would operate military sanctions very speedily, even if the League did not exist, as was the case in 1914, by going to the support of France. This was made clear by Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Advocating the need for Britain's rearmament, the Chancellor said that sanctions involve the risks of war, and therefore "nationals cannot be relied upon to proceed to the last extremity of war unless their vital interests are threatened." These vital British interests, according to *The Times* of June 4, 1936, are the defence of the Empire, the integrity of France and Belgium, and the maintenance of a free passage through the Mediterranean to India, Australia and the Far East.

After the Anglo-German agreement, the League already in a dying condition, was as good as dead. From June on, events began to move rapidly at Geneva as well as in East Africa. Following the breakdown of direct negotiations between the Italian and Ethiopian representatives over the Wal-Wal affair, the Emperor continued to appeal to Geneva, asking that measures be taken to arrest the warlike preparations which Mussolini was all the time carrying on.

While "new diplomacy," represented by the Arbitration Commission, was pursuing its labours in Berne and Paris, "old diplomacy" was functioning side by side. Britain, alarmed by Mussolini's threats to bomb Malta, made a desperate effort to try and satisfy Italy's claims, while at the same time safeguarding her interests in Abyssinia.

With the approval of Laval, Eden had succeeded in getting the August session of the Council to place the dispute in the hands of the representative of the three great powers—England, France and Italy. Nothing pleased Mussolini better than this, for it enabled the three states most concerned in carving up Abyssinia to bargain over the share-out behind the back of the victim. From that moment the old game of secret diplomacy dominated the Geneva deliberations. It was the Morocco situation all over again. The only difference this time was that a League existed to act as a smokescreen for the war preparations of the imperialist bandits.

Furthermore, by handing over the dispute to the parties of the Tripartite Agreement, it only served to draw a red herring across the true issue *vis-a-vis* Italy-Abyssinia without in any way safeguarding the interests of the latter. Its effect was to strengthen Mussolini's position at home. Whereas before this move the war was unpopular among the overwhelming majority of the Italian people, the Duce was now able to exploit the new situation to his own advantage, by creating the impression among the masses that it was a conflict between British and Italian imperialisms and not a Fascist war of aggression against a weak African nation, as those who had criticised Italy tried to make out. From then on the impression grew among the Italians that the greedy Britishers just wanted to deprive them of what they most wanted—colonies.

Safeguard for Lake Tsana

This action on the part of Britain and France in discussing the fate of Abyssinia on the basis of the 1906 secret agreement clearly showed that these so-called peace-loving democratic powers never intended to be guided by the letter or spirit of the Covenant, which has as its fundamental principle the guaranteeing of the independence of all League members. What, then, has the Tripartite Agreement in common with the Covenant?

Britain's sole concern throughout these proceedings was to try and defend her share of the swag, Lake Tsana. However, before negotiations got very far, the Italians made it clear that they were not out to accommodate even John Bull. Had Mussolini acceded to Britain's desires, the national government was quite prepared to bring diplomatic pressure to bear upon the Emperor to grant the maximum economic, political, and even territorial, concessions to the Italians. This is as plain as a pikestaff, for at the time of the Hoare-Laval agreement the Foreign Office sent a note to Sir Sidney Barton, the British Minister at Addis Ababa, instructing him to exert the maximum amount of pressure upon the Emperor to accept the scandalous proposals embodied in this infamous document.

But having failed to win over Mussolini, to their Little Englander scheme, which they were conducting with all the subtlety of oriental bargaining, characteristic of British diplomacy, and alarmed by the dictator's blunt refusal of Mr. Eden's offer to give Zeila to Abyssinia as part-compensation for any territorial adjustment made in Italy's favour, the Baldwin government decided upon a new line of tactics.

The Foreign Office resorted to direct action, hoping that by threatening sanctions against Italy Mussolini would come to terms. For by this time Abyssinia had been relegated to a secondary position, the issue having developed into an open Mediterranean struggle between British and Italian Imperialisms. Mussolini, however, assured of the support of France, and knowing perfectly well that Britain would never risk a war against him that might have the effect of bringing down his regime and ushering in Communism, which the British imperialists feared more than Fascism, proceeded with his military plans. This fear was openly voiced by that neo-Fascist apologist for British imperialism, J. L. Garvin, editor of the influential London *Observer:* "Any result but signal victory in arms or its equivalent in the shape of wide territorial concessions, whether in the name of the League or not, could mean the fall of Signor Mussolini himself, the crash of the Facist regime and Italian chaos."

Addressing his troops at Eboli on July 6, Mussolini said: "Our decision is irrevocable. There can be no turning back. Government and nation are now engaged in a conflict which we have decided to carry on to the bitter end. The Italians have always thrashed black people in warfare. The defeat at Adowa was an exception . . . Today all Italy is behind her sons leaving for Africa. Italians prefer a life of heroism to an insipid existence."

And to help him prepare the way at Geneva for this much advertised adventure, the French press which had been carrying on a regular pro-Italian campaign from the very beginning of the dispute, had the audacity to demand the expulsion of Abyssinia from the League. These journalistic prostitutes to Fascism claimed that such action would solve two problems with one stroke: It would enable the League to exonerate itself, and at the same time avoid irritating Mussolini and losing the membership of a "good European." But this cynicism was too much even for the hard-boiled politicians at Geneva to countenance, when an easier way out could yet be found to accommodate Mussolini. Italy would be allowed to wage her war upon the blacks, while all the other powers would look on, some approvingly, others with varied degrees of indifference. For was not Italy about to emulate what others had been doing for centuries? Spreading the "White Man's Burden" to heathens and savages?

Not without reason, Sir John Simon informed the House of Commons that as far as he was concerned "Abyssinia was not worth a British warship." Sir John Simon could well afford to forget the sacrifices rendered by black people in defence of his Empire in its hour of

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Unrepentant

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*

According to those great metropolitan newspapers, the *Sunflower Tocsin* of Indianola, Miss., the *Daily News* of Jackson, Miss., and the *Dispatch* of Columbus, Miss., the last chapter has been written on the notorious blow torch lynchings at Duck Hill.

They declare that "the two brutes at Duck Hill richly deserved what they got; that the nation-wide outcry that followed this outburst of sadism was "a lot of tommyrot," and that they are "sick and tired" of the South being blamed for lynchings.

We do not wish to appear pessimistic, but we believe these editors reflect the prevailing white opinion in the State of Mississippi.

There is an increasing minority of intelligent white men and women in Mississippi who do not condone lynching and are bitterly opposed to it, but it is still a rather ineffective minority.

Leading white churchmen in that state have spoken out against lynching, hundreds of white club women have spoken out against lynching, and a majority of the students of Millsaps College (white) has voted in favor of a federal anti-lynching bill.

Nevertheless, this civilized minority is yet too weak to stop lynching, the officers of the so-called law will not prevent lynching, and the legislators refuse to pass a state anti-lynching bill.

To say, then, that Mississippi will not stop lynching is by no means playing with the truth. And what is true of Mississippi is likewise true of most of the southern states.

Time and again they go off on an orgy of lynching and are boastfully unrepentant. Time and again they say "nothing will be done about it."

This is why it is necessary not only for the Negro's sake, but for the preservation of free democratic government, which everywhere today is on the defensive, that Congress pass and the President sign an anti-lynching law.

A strong, well-toothed Federal anti-lynching bill has passed the House of Representatives by overwhelming vote.

An identical bill is now before the Senate and those solons who are so concerned about the future of democratic institutions have an opportunity to prove their sincerity.

The beginning of Fascism is the surrender to the mob. The Fascists in the U. S. Senate will be those who by filibustering and other parliamentary devices defeat the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill and so play into the hands of the mob.

The American Negro is the acid test of democracy in America. If it cannot function where he is concerned, it is inevitably doomed.

It cannot be saved by unrepentant lynchers who burn their victims with blow torches.

Last week a middle-aged white man, accused and convicted of raping an eight-year-old Negro girl, was sentenced to twenty years in prison. While we know full well had the attacker been a Negro, and the attacked a white child, details of another lynching orgy would have been broadcast to a not-so-calloused world. But a prison sentence, to a white man in Georgia for the rape of a Negro child, found its way into few daily papers, and then on an inside page in an obscure corner . . .

This is decided progress for Justice in Georgia, and offers hope to us that the lady will become even better known as the years advance in the development of a truly democratic civilization.—Louisiana *Weekly*.

The sentencing of W. Sidney Pittman, erstwhile editor and publisher of "The Brotherhood Eyes," to five years in the United States prison in the criminal division of the federal district court at Dallas last week, on two counts of sending obscene matter through the United States mails, brings forcibly to the fore several pertinent facts.

It proves conclusively that rackets do not pay and that the person who tries to profit by trafficking in slime, filth and obscenity through the columns of his publication, if distributed through the federal mails, will soon come to grief. . .—Houston, Tex., *Defender*.

The Georgia supreme court recently ruled that the school boards of the state may expel pupils if they fail to salute the United States flag. This is a commendable beginning by the Georgia supreme court of sensing some of the finer things in our national life. It is hoped that out of this right beginning that the Georgia supreme court will soon rule that the Constitution of the United States is also entitled to respectable salutations, by enforcement when questions arise requiring judicial interpretation having to do with the rights and privileges of the black citizens of that state . . .—Chicago *Defender*.

Apprehension that the new cotton picker will throw so many southern sharecroppers and workers out of work that we'll have another depression may be lessened by looking at the situation in the West.

There farmers are using corn-husking, potato-digging, and wheat-binding machines as well as motorized planters for corn, beans, wheat, and other crops, and also using power threshing machines which, equipped with powerful searchlights, operate twenty-four hours a day in the harvest season.

The South which survived the invention of the cotton gin will also get over the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker.—*Afro-American*.

The Social Security Act is an intelligent approach towards the humanization of labor and industry, but it is not sufficiently comprehensive since it fails to reach thousands who need its blessings most. . .

It is to be hoped that the committee will be liberal in its findings and recommend amendment of the Act to include those in domestic service. . . —Norfolk *Journal and Guide*.

This month marks the sixth year in prison for the nine innocent Scottsboro boys, thrust behind bars on a shameless cry of rape from the throats of two women of questionable repute and kept there because of the hate which the sovereign state of Alabama has for black dwellers within her borders. Millions of voices have thundered aloud against the unreasoning hatred of Alabama in keeping these nine innocents incarcerated. And Alabama still turns a deaf ear to the civilized world and the nine lads are still spending the best years of their wasted youth in gloomy prison cells. . . *Amsterdam News*.

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need. But what is more significant is, that such statements reveal the hypocrisy which characterized the conduct of the British government throughout the whole of this unfortunate episode. It showed that at no time did the national government intend to take any risk in implementing its pledges for "collective security." Sir Samuel Hoare's famous speech of September 11 was sheer poppycock having a two-fold purpose: To throw dust in the eyes of the world; and for home consumption, to rally votes for Toryism at the General Election which took place on November 14, 1936.

Ethiopians Denied Arms

Today the nation is reaping what the government has sown, Britain's name is a byword for scorn and derision in the market places of Africa and the bazaars of the orient.

As war clouds grew more and more threatening over Africa, and the League revealed its impotence to prevent war —even a localized conflict—the Abyssinians decided to depend upon themselves. Already denied the possibilities of obtaining arms, thanks to the embargo imposed by England, France and other League powers during the eight months already wasted in fruitless negotiations, the Emperor addressed a special appeal to the League on August 12 asking for financial aid and other forms of material assistance, such as the removal of the arms embargo, in preparing the defence of his country. But even in the face of this most urgent appeal, this august body remained unmoved, although England and France had by treaty in 1930 pledged themselves to facilitate the Emperor in obtaining all the arms necessary to defend the independence of his country. And as for the League, there can be no excuse for its conduct in refusing to aid the victim of such barbarous aggression, when it had for years financed such states as Austria and Hungary, the very ones that were among the first to refuse to abide by its sanctions decision. The Abyssinians were the victims of treachery on every hand.

On September 4 the Council convened to hear the findings of the Arbitration Commission which had been appointed at the August session. The commission decided that neither party to the dispute was wholly responsible for what occurred at Wal-Wal in December, 1934. With this question out of the way, the Council proposed to set up a Committee of Five to "undertake the general examination in its various aspects of the relations between Italy and Abyssinia." This body was nothing else but a plaything in the hands of the Big Two—England and France. The first thing the committee did was to assure Mussolini that it was quite prepared to satisfy all Italy's demands providing he would refrain from war which might mean the end of what little prestige still remained to the League. But more important still, the committee was afraid that the war might give rise to serious political repercussions in Europe as well as arouse indignation and unrest among the coloured races of Africa and Asia. Mussolini, however, rejected the kind offer of the committee.

Faced with the Duce's intransigent attitude, British diplomacy had again to trim its sails to suit the new international wind which was blowing. On the one hand, the British government had more openly to adopt the role of defender of Abyssinia by pretending loyalty to the League and the principle of "collective security." Sir Samuel Hoare declared: "The attitude of His Majesty's government has always been one of unswerving fidelity to the League and all that it stands for, and the case now before us is no exception, but on the contrary the continuance of that rule. The recent response of public opinion shows how completely the nation supports the government in the full acceptance of the obligations of League membership . . . In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression."

This speech had the effect of placating public opinion at home and in the colonies, where Mussolini's arrogant threats against the last independent African kingdom had aroused bitter resentment. But while Sir Samuel was paying lip service to the Covenant, his colleagues in the Foreign Office were at the same time secretly bargaining with Mussolini, for it will be recalled that at no period during the controversy was the British Ambassador in Rome, Sir Eric Drummond, so frequently assuring Mussolini that Britain had no intention of closing the Suez Canal or applying force than during the months immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities.

Sanctions Failed

Having taken the precaution of safeguarding their imperial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, without even waiting for the consent of the League of Nations to approve the despatch of the Home Fleet, Mr. Eden, following up the honeyed words of Sir Samuel, mobilized the League states to apply sanctions against his country's rival. Britain considered this her trump card, having already decided not to resort to force against Italy. She hoped that sanctions would have the effect of scaring Mussolini and forcing him to adopt a more conciliatory attitude and agree, even at this late moment, to accept the offers previously made to him by the Committee of Five. Had Mussolini fallen into the trap, Britain's interests in Abyssinia would have been safeguarded, for the Committee had planned to place the Lake Tsana region under a League mandate; in other words, under British control, after giving Italy the major portion of the country. But Mussolini stood firm and sanctions failed, for the simple reason that Britain, although she had taken the initiative in this direction, never intended carrying them to the point of causing Italy to suffer defeat. Britain feared such an outcome more than anything else. For defeat for Mussolini would not only have been a serious blow to capitalism in Italy, but would have served as an inspiration to the anti-Fascist forces in other European countries, as well as the anti-imperialist movements in Africa and Asia. For long before the war started, the colonial peoples, especially in Egypt, South Africa and the Near East (Palestine) had begun to get restless. So while shouting for sanctions and still more sanctions, the British imperial government, which has the controlling interest in the Anglo-Persian (Iraq) Oil Company, was seeing to it that Mussolini got all the oil that his aeroplanes needed to drop poison gas bombs upon defenseless villagers, women and children. British imperialism is the bulwark of world reaction. The Soviet Union, like Britain, America and Rumania, continued to sell oil to Italy throughout the war and was the first great power to propose the lifting of sanctions.

Reviewing the entire episode, one can truly say that from the outbreak of the dispute, arising out of the Wal-Wal incident, Britain and France, though fully aware of the ultimate aim of Mussolini, did everything possible to conceal the real danger confronting Abyssinia. Further, they prevented the Abyssinians from obtaining arms, assuring the Emperor that his country's independence was secure in the good offices of the League, while at the same time they were facilitating Mussolini's plans by masking his war preparations behind diplomatic discussions and dishonest declarations of devotion to peace. And, as a final act of treachery, the British and French imperialists deliberately ob-

(*Continued on page* 188)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Major Problems on Program at Detroit

DURING the deepest of the depression it seemed as though the difficulties facing the Negro were the gravest in many years. And so they were. But the emergence of the country from the depression has brought equally important problems for all minorities and especially for the Negro.

There is the matter of employment. How shall the rights of our workers best be safeguarded? In the transition from public to private employment, how are we to get our share of the jobs? Is the depression really over—for us? How is relief operating in the South and elsewhere? As the forces of union labor take new strides forward, are they taking our workers with them or are we getting the same old kick in the face? What about the CIO? How about Ford and Negro employees? What is going to be the fate of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers?

There is the matter of an education for our children. Shall they continue to be handicapped by inferior education financed out of the taxes of all the people? Is it always going to be that certain states are going to spend millions upon white children and a few paltry thousands upon our children? Is the program of federal aid to education going to mean that the United States government is going to finance this cruel inequality? What effect are the law suits against lily white state universities having on the improvement of the opportunities of our young people for adequate college training? How much of a differential still exists between white and colored teachers in the separate public schools system?

There is the business of the ballot. How can we be free if we cannot vote? Those of us who have had the vote in the North have been able to improve our lot and make some gains for ourselves. In addition, we have had such an effect upon national politics as to aid, in some slight degree, those of us in the South. But how shall we continue to use our political strength? How shall we fight the denial of the franchise in the South? What are the best methods of securing the enforcement of the Constitution below the Mason and Dixon line?

Then there is lynching and the whole problem of physical security and justice in the courts. The fight against lynching must be pressed whether or not a federal anti-lynching law is passed by Congress. We must counsel together on court procedure, on police brutality, on a thousand and one items affecting our civil rights.

Finally there is the problem of jim crowism and the civil rights laws in the various states. We must continue our campaign for full freedom and equality.

All these matters will be discussed at the 28th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Detroit, Mich., June 29-July 4. In addition there will be questions concerning the N.A.A.C.P. internal machinery — our organization problems—and how we can build a more effective fighting machine for the race.

The young people of the association, delegates from youth councils and college chapters over the country, will be present addressing themselves to the peculiar problems of youth and integrating their work with the association's general program.

Well known speakers who are authorities in their fields, will address both

A group of campaign leaders, workers, and members of the Birmingham, Ala., branch who engaged in a recent membership drive, directed by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary. Standing left to right: W. E. Miles, N. Martin, T. D. Purdie, W. L. Bradley, Miss Zenobia Johnson, W. E. Shortridge, winner of the loving cup, presented to the captain bringing in the largest number of memberships, E. W. Taggart, Miss Vesper D. Brown, J. J. Green, E. Shell, R. H. Dunning. Sitting: J. M. Coar, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Miss K. O. Barbour, S. L. Belle.

the evening mass meetings and the daytime discussion groups. The Detroit branch, under the leadership of L. C. Blount, is planning complete entertainment for 1,000 delegates. Advance registrations up to May 20 indicate this will be one of the largest and best conferences held in many years.

If your branch has not elected its delegates, do so without delay. Send more than one, for the important discussions will be split into separate sections and it will not be possible for one delegate to hear everything.

Remember the dates—June 29-July 4 inclusive—and come to Detroit.

Blocks Attempt to Break Up Atlanta Meeting

Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. and A. T. Walden spoiled an attempt of a group of about thirty white men to break up a mass meeting of the southern regional conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Atlanta, Ga., April 23. The meeting was addressed by J. L. LeFlore, secretary of the Mobile, Ala., branch and immediately upon the conclusion of his talk. one of the white men arose and started reading questions from a sheet of paper. The questions were designed to try to prove that the N.A.A.C.P. is a "Red" organization.

Before the meeting could be thrown into confusion, Mr. Mitchell rose in the audience and challenged the right of the heckler to ask questions in the meeting. Mr. Mitchell, a member of the youth council of the N.A.A.C.P. and a fellowship student at the Atlanta School of Social Work, then made a brief, straightforward talk on the association and its work. Before the invaders could recover from Mr. Mitchell's retort, Mr. Walden, former president of the Atlanta branch and now a member of the national board of directors, made another sharp talk outlining clearly the purposes and activities of the association. The white group became confused and left the church. Some of them wore American Legion caps, but the national commander of the American Legion, Harry W. Colmery, has written the national office denying that legionnaires took part.

Three Branches Raise $4,800 in Memberships

The spring membership campaigns in Boston, Pittsburgh and Birmingham resulted in a gross total of $4,800 in memberships and contributions. Boston raised $2,100; Pittsburgh, $1,800; and Birmingham, $900. Approximately one-half this amount goes to the New York office for the national work and the other half remains in the branch treasuries.

Wright Photo

CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, JR.

His speech balked attempt to break up Atlanta meeting.

Anti-lynching Bill Has Sixty-two Senate Votes

A poll of the senate on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill has shown a total of 62 votes favoring the passage of the bill, with 53 of these absolutely certain for the measure. The other nine votes are for the bill with reservations. Only 20 senators are opposed to the bill. A sub-committee of the Senate judiciary committee has been named to consider the bill and a favorable report is expected shortly. Every effort is being made to get the bill up for a vote before the end of June.

D.C. Branch Charter Revoked by Board

The charter of the District of Columbia branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was revoked by the national board of directors at its regular meeting May 10. The action was taken because three persons in the District of Columbia branch, A. S. Pinkett, John C. Bruce and John T. Rhines, formed a local and wholly autonomous corporation on March 12, 1937 known as the "District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Inc." A resolution adopted by the board revoking the charter stated that this act of incorporation was done without the consent of the branch executive committee, the branch membership, or the national office. The board demanded April 19 that the branch repudiate the incorporation within ten days or have the charter revoked. No action was taken to repudiate the incorporation and no word was sent the national office.

MISS ELIZABETH W. JOHNSON

Vice-President Jamaica, N. Y., branch who directed National Negro Health Week program.

Immediately upon the revocation of the charter, attorneys for the national organization sought an injunction in the District of Columbia courts to prevent use of the name of the association by anyone in the District and to prevent the collection of money in the name of the association. Officially, with the revocation of the charter, no branch of the N.A.A.C.P. exists in the District, but this does not affect the rights and privileges of members of the association who live in the District. They can continue paying their membership dues to the national office.

Branch News

MEETINGS

Dean Pickens speaks. The **Kansas City Kan.,** branch heard Dean William Pickens, director of the association, in a mass meeting April 16 at Metropolitan Baptist Temple.

On April 26 Dean Pickens spoke to 300 members of the **Toledo, Ohio,** branch, telling them of the current problems being attacked by the association and discussing plans for the annual conference which will be held in Detroit June 29–July 4. Following Dean Picken's talk the annual election was held and Ernest Wade was chosen president. Clarence G. Smith was elected first vice-president; Miss Wilma Kudzia, second vice-president; Miss Roger Williams, secretary; and Mrs. Constance Heslip, treasurer.

Members of the executive board are Clarence Thomas, Albertus B. Conn, Mrs. Mamie Duffy, E. B. Highwarden, Leo B. Marsh, Howard Jacobson, James S. Legree, the Rev. W. Payne Stanley and Nathan Becker.

Observe 20th anniversary. The **Springfield, Mass.,** branch celebrated its 20 anniversary with a series of meetings April 25–May 2. Among the speakers were:

Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the New York office, Dr. William N. DeBerry, and Judge James S. Watson of New York. The celebration coincided with the annual spring membership campaign. George Gordon is president of the branch and Dr. Bruce T. Bowens, secretary.

Discuss legislation. H. W. Sewing and W H. Towers, representatives in the state legislature, addressed a meeting of the **Kansas City, Kans.,** branch April 18 on legislative matters of special interest to colored people. B. B. Prinn led the discussion following the talks.

Friendship supper. Second annual interracial friendship supper sponsored by the youth councils of the **Cleveland, Ohio,** branch was held April 29.

Gives historical data. H. H. Coates, chairman of the publicity committee of the **Pueblo, Colo.,** branch prepared a short article telling of the contributions of Negroes to America which was published in the Pueblo **Star Journal,** April 15.

Illinois State Conference. Officers and members from fifteen Illinois branches of the N.A.A.C.P. met Sunday, May 23 at the Wabash avenue Y.M.C.A. for the quarterly meeting of the executive committee of the state conference. In the afternoon, round table discussions covering "Discrimination in Education in Illinois," "Methods of Enforcing the Illinois Civil Rights Law," "Pending Legislation," and "The Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill in the U. S. Senate," were presented by speakers from all parts of the state.

Representative Charles J. Jenkins led the discussion on "New and Necessary Legislation Affecting the Negro." Alderman Edwin B. Jourdain of Evanston took part in the presentation of the problems involved in "Discrimination in Education in Illinois." C. A. Hansberry of Chicago gave some recent cases under the subject of "Enforcing the Civil Rights Law in Ilinois." Dr. Richard Grant and Dr. Josephine Jett-Davis of Rockford, N. J., Henderson of Bloomington, Mrs. Alice Wilson of Kankakee, Nelson Willis of Danville, Mrs. Alma Webster of Springfield, George A. Blakey of Chicago, Mrs. Marie Grey Baker, Decatur, the Rev. Goins of Freeport, and Mrs. Blanche Morris and Mrs. Jeannette Triplett Jones of Chicago and others took part in the afternoon program.

May Day speaker. David N. Howell of the youth council of **Dallas, Tex.,** branch was one of the speakers at the May Day celebration in Sullivan Park, in Dallas, May 1.

Hold election. The following officers were elected by the **Danville, Ill.,** branch April 30: president, Robert Turner; vice-president. Dr. W. H. Wilson; secretary, Robert Norwood; treasurer, Mrs. Anna Beeler; chairman of executive board, Attorney Nelson Willis.

Dead. Mrs. Mary H. Thomas, member of the executive committee of the **Camden, N. J.,** branch died at her home May 4.

Benefit dance. The **Staten Island, N. Y.,** branch held its annual spring benefit dance April 23. F. Everett Henry was chairman of the arrangements committee whose members included S. A. Browne, president; Jacob Scott, Miss Edna Morgan, Mis Eleanor Roach, Mrs. Margaret Scott, Mrs. Jennie Herring, Mrs. Ethel Fowler, Mrs. Edna Henry and George Johnson.

Director speaks. James H. Robinson, a member of the association's board of directors, spoke at a banquet meeting of the Negro Youth Institute in White Plains, N. Y., April 17.

IRWIN T. DORCH

During his two years as president of the Boston branch, Mr. Dorch has aroused new interest in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. With Miss Juanita E. Jackson as campaign director, his branch has just raised $2100 *in memberships.*

Monthly meetings. The **Keokuk, Ia.,** branch decided April 19 to hold meetings once a month, instead of once every two months, on the first Sunday.

Peace speaker. Dr. Burke Helm, regional director of the Emergency Peace campaign, was the speaker at a forum held April 18 by the Houston, Tex., branch.

Youth meeting. The May 2 meeting of the **Pueblo, Colo.,** branch was turned over to the young people and among those on the program was Gertrude Watson, Clifford Seymour, Tecoma Banks, and Ermogene Ellis. R. C. Martin, president of the branch, spoke on "Racial and Parental Responsibilities." As an educational project the branch will form a club for the study of Negro history.

Youth congress. Dr. Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., and the Rev. Marshall Sheppard, were the speakers March 13 at the First Christian Youth Congress on race held in Philadelphia, Pa.

Dead. Mrs. Sadie W. Baker, former officer in the **Chester, Pa.,** branch died at her home there March 16.

The **Saginaw, Mich.,** branch has been invited to become a member of the newly organized council of social agencies of that city.

Forum speaker. At the final meeting of the season of the Civic Educational Forum of Binghamton, N. Y., Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, was the guest speaker. Mr. White stressed the restrictions in economic opportunities operating against Negro workers and touched upon other topics in relations between the races.

Mr. White spoke April 11 to a meeting at the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, in a series of Sunday evening meetings under the title of "My Neighbor and—".

Speaks to club. Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., addressed the business girls' club of Nashville, Tenn, March 27, and commended

Photo Courtesy News-Bee

Among the guests at the speaker's table at the March dinner meeting of the Toledo, O., branch were: front row, left to right: Postmaster Edward C. Kirschner; Roy Wilkins, editor of THE CRISIS, *principal speaker; William T. McKnight, Carlton K. Matson, editor, "The News-Bee"; back row, left to right: City Manager John N. Edy; Professor Edward C. Ames, the University of Toledo, toastmaster; Ernest G. Wade, branch president; Mayor Roy C. Start, and Leo B. Marsh, Y.M.C.A. secretary.*

the members for their activity in behalf of the anti-lynching bill.

Regular meeting. The **Little Rock, Ark.,** branch held its regular meeting Aprill 11 at the Congregational church.

Anniversary. The birth of Horace Mann, father of public education in the United States, was commemorated at a dinner April 20 in Cleveland, Ohio, sponsored jointly by the Cleveland branch of the Negro History Association.

Pageant. The Women's Auxiliary of the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch presented "A Pageant of Women" at the regular monthly meeting April 11. Mrs. Sybil Baylor and Mrs. William Morris had charge of arrangements. The Rev. Vernon Johns was the speaker.

Dean Pickens speaks. Dean Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P., spoke for the **E. St. Louis, Ill,** branch April 5; for the **St Louis, Mo.,** branch April 12; for a group at Lincoln, Ill., April 1; and for the Danville, Ill., branch April 7.

CAMPAIGNS

The **Kansas City, Kans.,** branch opened its membership campaign April 16.

Herman A. Washington, instructor in social science at Xavier University; Dr. P. P. Creuzot, J. B. LaFourche, Emile LeBat, and Miss Ernestine Dunn, were the speakers at a membership report meeting held by the **New Orleans, La.,** branch April 7. More than 200 new members were reported at the meeting.

The membership campaign of the **Pueblo, Colo.,** branch ended April 4 and a victory dinner was held on that day. The speakers for the closing meeting were the Rev. T. R. Jones, Miss Ruby Walker and Mrs. Zelma Benford. More than 80 new members were added to the rolls.

The **Cambridge, Mass.,** unit of the **Boston,** branch started its membership campaign with a mass meeting April 7 at the Union Baptist church. A proposed campaign on insurance companies for employment of colored people was discussed. The principal speaker was Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the New York office of the N.A.A.C.P. and other speakers were the Rev. Jeffrey Campbell of New York, Mayor John D Lynch, Atty. Irwin T. Dorch, Atty. Ray W. Guild, Miss Zara DuPont.

Mrs. Edna Jones is chairman, assisted by Miss Pearline Frederick, Mrs. Susan W. Cox, Mrs. Mary Eubanks, Mrs. Anna Bisbee, Mrs. Margaret Cotten, Mrs. Mary Rollins, Mrs. Nellie Harris, Mrs. Susie Brown, Mrs. E. T. Morris, Mrs. Matthew Coles, Samuel Williams, the Rev. Samuel O. Weens, the Rev. James Mitchell, Henry Harris, Wallace Thompson and Nathan Cotten.

The membership campaign of the **Syracuse, N. Y.,** branch closed May 9. At its April meeting the branch discussed forms of discrimination against Negroes and sent a message to Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, commending him for his stand against discrimination in the CCC camps in New York State.

ON TO DETROIT!

If your branch has not done so, please make plans now to send delegates to the annual conference in Detroit, Michigan, June 29-July 4.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

A Call to N.A.A.C.P. Youth

The following call to N.A.A.C.P. young people to meet in Detroit is issued by Juanita E. Jackson, director of youth work of the association:

"South Carolina passes a Jim Crow bus bill. Congressman Mitchell is denied Pullman accommodations on the Illinois Central and Rock Island railroads on his way to Hot Springs, Arkansas. Bootjack McDaniels, 26, and Roosevelt Townes, 25, are tortured by fire, one shot to death and the other burned alive at Mississippi's Duck Hill.

"Margaret Williams, 14 years old, in Baltimore county, Maryland, appeals her case to the highest court in Maryland, fighting for the right to a high school education in a county that has eleven white high schools and no colored.

"Thousands of Negro youth leaving school for the summer, are wondering where they are going to find jobs—for jobs for Negro youth are few and far between. Thousands of others work long hours for pitifully low wages. And others have lost hope of ever finding jobs.

"Certainly then, it is high time for alert, thinking youth, who know that if conditions are to be changed young people must help change them, to gather at the youth section of the 28th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. at Detroit, Michigan, June 29-July 4, to (a) Face together our problems, (b) Decide upon methods of approach, (c) Build a stronger national youth program of action.

"For the youth councils and college chapters, the gathering will not be a mere conference. It will be the soil from which a stronger national youth program will be created. Moreover, it will be the place where young people, students and workers, white and black, from every section of the country, will meet on grounds of common interest, share viewpoints, pool facts, face the problems of Negro youth, seek solutions, and decide upon techniques of action.

"There will be five main discussion groups: Problems of the Young Negro Worker, Problems of the Young Negro Student, Problems of the Young Negro Citizen, Problems of Physical Security, and Problems of Organization, Promotion and Publicity.

"Outstanding youth leaders will conduct each discussion group, drawing upon resource leaders, experts in their various fields, for information and guidance.

"The youth section of the conference will begin with a get-together meeting Tuesday, June 29, at 7 p.m. Youth sessions will be held parallel with the adult sessions from 9:30 to 12:30 each morning. In the afternoons and evenings, young people and adults will meet jointly. Thursday, July 1, will be the official youth night of the conference. At 5 p.m. there will be a local youth broadcast. The youth delegates will be guests at a fellowship dinner given by the Detroit youth councils at six o'clock. The business of the conference will close Saturday, July 3, at noon.

"Get your carloads and your motor caravans of delegates and come to Detroit. Be a part of this youth gathering. Help us make a vital contribution to the great struggle for justice."

500 Youth Delegates Expected at Detroit

All over the country youth groups of the Association are making preparations to attend the youth section of the 28th annual conference in Detroit, June 29-July 4. Tag sales, dances, entertainments, are springing up rapidly in N.A.A.C.P. youth centers, as the members raise funds for sending delegates to Detroit. The Detroit youth councils are in a whirl of preparations for the 500 delegates expected. This conference promises to be the greatest in the history of the Association and young people are anxious to play their part in it.

A number of the youth councils are appointing chairmen of conference preparation committees. Among those who have been appointed are: Borthy Butts, Staten Island, N. Y.; Kenneth Smith, Jamaica, N. Y.; Clara Wings, Marion, Indiana; James Dotson, Jr., Muskogee, Oklahoma; Olin Gore, Oilton, Okla.; Glenna Porter, Columbus, Ohio; Worley Redmond, Detroit, Michigan; Mattye Bedford, Houston, Texas; James Biggs, Portsmouth, Ohio.

Most of the youth delegations are planning to motor. The cost of a railroad fare will carry a carload. Where there are youth state organizations, delegates are planning to meet at a central point in the state and proceed from there to Detroit.

Clarence M. Mitchell Wins Slogan Contest

"Forward for Justice, Freedom and Equality" is the winning slogan in the contest conducted by the youth councils

and college chapters of the association in an effort to secure a virile slogan for the emergent youth movement. The successful contestant is Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., 25, graduate of Lincoln University, (Pa.) 1932, and at present a National Urban League Fellowship student at the Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia.

A native of Baltimore, Maryland, prior to pursuing studies in Atlanta, Mr. Mitchell was a member of the editorial staff of the Afro-American. His interest in the struggle for Negro rights is attested to by the fact that he is a member of the executive committees of the Baltimore branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Baltimore Urban League. He is also vice-president of the City-wide Young People's Forum in Baltimore.

More than 100 slogans were received from Negro and white young people in 21 states, and from the British West Indies and the Virgin Islands. Judges of the contest were: Langston Hughes, poet and author; E. Simms Campbell, artist; Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, columnist for the New York *World-Telegram;* George Schuyler, author, journalist, and critic; Lewis Gannett, books editor, New York *Herald Tribune;* Walter White, secretary N.A.A.C.P., and Juanita E. Jackson, director of the youth work in the N.A.A.C.P.

Oklahoma State Conference Held

On Saturday, May 22, the members of the 18 youth councils and the Langston university college chapter in Oklahoma met at Tulsa, and organized the youth section of the Oklahoma state conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches. Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, who is the state director of youth work, planned the conference which had a large attendance. Under the leadership of Peter Kamitchis of Oklahoma City university, three carloads of white students attended the conference.

Among the main speakers were John Dillingham, Emergency Peace Campaign, "The Stakes of Racial Minorities in the Peace Movement;" Dean Gladys Jamison, Langston university; J. W. Burr, Idabel, Oklahoma, "What Trend Should Education Take to Prepare Negro Youth for Effective Living;" Peter Kamitchis, Oklahoma City university, "Does the Negro Youth Really Want Equality?;" Cernoria Johnson, "The N.A.A.C.P. Challenges the Youth of Oklahoma."

Editor Roscoe Dunjee of the *Black Dispatch,* who is president of the senior state conference, acted as the advisor to the youth section.

PREPARING FOR YOUTH DELEGATES

Theus Photo

The committee of the Detroit Youth Councils planning for the entertainment of the youth delegates to the 28th annual conference there June 29–July 4. Left to right: Pauline Dotson, Helen White, Bessie Ivory, Helen Imes, Gloster B. Current, Mrs. W. A. Thompson, adviser; Eleen Boatman, Sarah Graves, Theodore Smith and Grayce Sadler.

An Invitation from Detroit Councils

By Louise Blackman

Detroit Central Youth Council Committee

IN LIFE there is much spoken of courage. There is the courage of the poet who expresses in rhythmic diction the things which most of us dare only to think. There is the courage of the soldier, who with set and grim face, turns his eyes westward. There is the courage of the martyr who dies because he believes in his convictions. There is the dynamic courage of Youth who with optimism and determination set about the noble task of building a better world. In this final category we must perforce include the Detroit youth councils of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There are five youth councils in Metropolitan Detroit, namely: East Side, West Side, North End, Eight Mile Road, and Twin Cities. The activities of these groups are coordinated through the Detroit Central Youth Council Committee. This committee is composed of the executive officers of the aforenamed councils.

Under the excellent leadership of Gloster B. Current, the Detroit youth councils have rounded out a complete year's work for the advancement of Negro youth in Detroit. Together during the year, they have promoted many activities, representative ones of which are: educational inequalities mass meeting in November; led the youth councils and college chapters of the country by reporting the sale of $156 in Christmas seals; successful anti-lynching demonstration on February 12, raising $89.50 from the sale of buttons; city-wide clean-up campaign. Through these activities, the Detroit youth councils have contributed $259.21 to the support of the national program this year.

No stones are being left unturned in preparing for this year's conference. Youth night on Thursday, July 1, will find the delegates entertained as never before. The facilities of the beautiful Lucy Thurman Y.W.C.A. are being turned over for the Youth Fellowship Dinner; the youth dance at the Belle Isle Casino on the Detroit River promises to be a highlight in the conference entertainment.

The Detroit youth councils look forward to meeting the militant young people from other parts of America at the national conference. We are ready to face with you the pressing problems. We want to help find solutions, create programs of action, and fling our energies, idealism and faith in the building of a better America. We know that after having been together we shall all be inspired to make new beginnings and to march on to greater heights. *Come to Detroit!*

Why Georgia Lost

L. D. Reddick

A brief comment on the recent Golden Gloves boxing tournament with a friendly suggestion to Dixie

SOMEWHERE in Europe, according to rumor, there is still one man who believes in the ideal of democracy. A few weeks ago, this visitor from the old country would have had the cockles of his equality-loving heart warm and glow had he chanced to visit "the Windy City" when the great Golden Gloves tournament was being staged under the surveillance of the *Chicago Tribune*, by its own confession, "the world's greatest newspaper," *ipso facto*, "the voice of the people." Amen.

Here were gathered together the ambitious young fistic warriors of 17 states and 45 cities, survivors out of an original cast of some 21,000 contestants. Almost every nationality, religion, color or previous condition of servitude was here to be seen, representatives of the various sections of the land. This, the Old Citizen would have mused, was true equality of opportunity—democracy at its best. . . .

But, as usual, there was a black fly in the republican ointment. There were Jews from Maxwell Street, Scandinavians from the mid-Northwest, Indians from Oklahoma, but *no Negroes from Georgia*.

Now, at first sight of this fact, some hypersensitive and unappreciative persons were ready to rush forward hurling charges of discrimination and unfair practice against the Southern authorities who did not allow the young gentlemen of color to participate down in Dixie. Obviously, these protestors do not understand. It should never be forgotten that time and time again everyone has been assured and reassured that the Southern Anglo-Saxon is the Negro's best friend. "Prize-fighting" is a rough and dangerous sport. Hence, it must be that the Southerners want to protect their Negroes from the dangers of these boxing battles. Keep them home, safe and sound—for local exploitation and lynching!

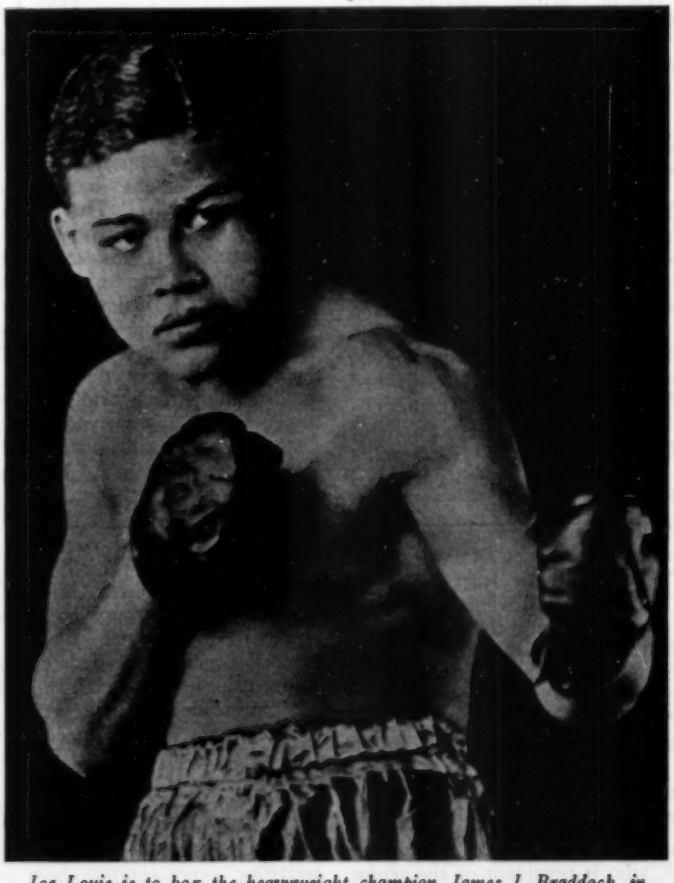
Be that as it may, our concern just now is not with the poor "Negra" (as the educated Mississippians pronounce it), but with Georgia and the Southern reputation. All will agree that the mutual pounding of man by man with the padded fist may not be the highest expression of a culture. It is, at best, a primitive art. Still, in the present social order, which has the greater prestige, a college professor or a light-heavyweight? Whose income is higher? Whose picture is more often in the paper? And who has the pick of the loveliest ladies and enjoys the heavier fan mail? Again, Tallulah Bankhead is a much more important public personality than her father, the Speaker of the House. All of which goes to show that it may not be overly significant that a section turn out unhistorical historians and politicians a la Gene Talmadge and Bilbo, but it is certainly of great moment to the public mind that the athletes and actresses should measure up.

No Firsts from South

In the Golden Gloves competition, the South failed to win a single first. The showing was miserably weak and disgraceful. The sectional patriots hung their heads as the nation laughed in derision.

Why did Georgia—the South—lose? Many "explanations" were offered: the change in climate, the "breaks," fewer gymnasiums per hundred thousand and so on and so forth. The true secret appears to yield itself to the statistical method.

In the whole Southern representation there was not a single Negro while, for example, 20 per cent of Ohio's and 37½ per cent of Michigan's contingents were black. Further, of the 32 finalists, 12 were colored and of the eight champions, three were obviously Aframerican. Moreover, when the winners from this tournament were pitted against a similar group collected in New York after the series of eliminations in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, it came out that of the 16 victors, eight—50 per cent—were, as the fastidious *Chicago Defender* terms them, "Race" men. When it is remembered that Negroes constitute but 3.5 per cent of the total population of Michigan; 4.7 per cent of Ohio's; 4.3 per cent of Illinois' meanwhile 36.8 per cent of Georgia's; 35.7 per cent of Alabama's and 50.2 per cent of Mississippi's, the



Joe Louis is to box the heavyweight champion, James J. Braddock, in Chicago, June 22, but the best that Alabama can do is to boast that at least he was born in that state

secret becomes almost a public announcement that *the South did not have its best talent battling for it.*

It seems, therefore, that the good people in the land of the cotton sharecropper must make the choice of recouping the lost glory by discarding the local custom and throwing wide the doors of contest or else they must be content with the curious and inverted pride in the fact that such a Golden Gloves champion as Joseph Louis Barrows (Joe Louis) was *born* in Alabama. The persistent and embarrassing question continues to be: what and where would he be now, had he waited *there* for his chance?

Garber

JAMES E. ALLEN

After five years as president of the New York branch, Mr. Allen retired from office and promptly was elected president of the New York State Conference of Branches. A testimonial smoker was held for him recently by the men's committee of the branch.

Book Reviews

A Preface to Racial Understanding by Charles S. Johnson. 206 pages. $1.00
The Story of the American Negro by Ina Corinne Brown. 208 pages. $1.00
Twelve Negro Americans by Mary Jenness. 180 pages. $1.00
We Sing America by Marion Cuthbert. 117 pages. $1.00
The Friendship Press, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City

From the Friendship Press have come four books that, if read by a majority of persons both black and white, interested in the so-called race problem, will help to bring about the designation suggested by the name of the publishing company. The combined contents of *A Preface to Racial Understanding* by Charles S. Johnson, *The Story of the American Negro* by Ina Corinne Brown, *Twelve Negro Americans* by Mary Jenness, and *We Sing America* by Marion Cuthbert cover a wide range of selective material a study of which will give the reader a more easily adjusted perspective as regards an interracial philosophy than a number of more pretentious works exploring similar themes. Although each book expresses the individuality of its author, the four volumes have a common meeting ground in the simplicity of language and the moderate length of the material included. Thus at one sitting the reader can complete any of the books.

In *A Preface to Racial Understanding* Mr. Johnson pleasantly surprises us, for he does not attempt to discuss any abstract racial philosophy that the title might suggest. Rather he presents objectively a recording of the historical stages through which the Negro has passed and those influences that have determined his status in contemporary life. Basing his discussion on a sociological analysis, he traces the forces affecting the identification of the Negro's position as a slave with the economic ills of a slave era, the constant insecurity of the group in the field of labor, those social factors that have had a deterring influence in establishing adjustments between the races, the definite contributions made by the Negro to the cultural advancement of American life, and the best approach to an ultimate understanding. Associated with the logical deductions made by the author is the complete detachment he is able to assume toward his subject matter. Despite his proving that many attitudes developed toward the Negro are erroneous, nevertheless he contends that all too frequently "there is an undeniable lag in Negro status . . . partly due to Negroes themselves." If the masses are to take a rightful place in American civilization, all must realize that such a status must be overcome. On the other hand Mr. Johnson agrees that the Negro is more than ever evaluating himself according to standards of accomplishment. To white Americans he explains that as long as an effort is made to conform the Negro within the confines of a pattern just so long will current attitudes persist. In order to break down this pattern white America is urged to make a conscientious attempt to know the race from facts based on representative knowledge and not from opinions deduced from acquaintanceship with a few Negroes.

An interesting contrast to Mr. Johnson's work is *The Story of the American Negro* by Ina Corinne Brown, a young white woman who is recognized as a "leader among those members of the younger generation in the South who have been striking out new paths in interracial cooperation." Whereas Mr. Johnson intersperses his informational material with his personal ideology, Miss Brown employs a purely factual approach in her presentation. Starting with the Negro's background in Africa, she follows his evolution through the processes of slavery to his position in American society to-day. Perhaps the chapter that best illustrates individual opinion is the one capitioned "Facing the Color Line." The World War is credited with being the agency that disturbed the solidarity of the white man and caused the Negro to make an assertion for his rights in America in spite of long existing taboos. The false premise upon which such taboos are nourished is understood when, despite the loud outcries against social equality, race mixture continues and more Negroes are "passing" than ever before. Significant is the author's opinion that racial intermarriage as such is not a pronounced issue since its practice is not prevalent even in those places where the law provides no barrier. The danger comes out of the fact that Negroes resent the prohibition of such unions because the stigma of inferiority is implied. That the lot of the Negro is circumscribed because of color is the final tenet of Miss Brown in this provocative chapter.

In "A Postscript for White Americans," Miss Brown emphasizes the eradication of racial difficulties through the Christian church which institution is called upon to practice the principles of Christ. Many readers will disagree with this method as a solution, but few will deny that the author has written a worthwhile, brief history of the American Negro.

As the name implies *Twelve Negro Americans* accomplishes its purpose through biographical studies. The treatment of the twelve characters is broad enough to acquaint the reader with interesting personalities, yet concise enough to allow the fact obtained to be readily assimilated. The book serves a specialized function in presenting not the best known persons of the race but those persons who, without the fanfare of publicity, are doing or have completed excellent, constructive jobs. Included are the stories of several youths, thus proving that one does not have to reach the middle road of life before contributing to the progress of the group. Mary Jenness is commended for the illuminating manner in which she brings her sketches before her readers.

Closing the series is Marion Cuthbert's *We Sing America*, a book of stories and facts about the Negro for children under twelve. Probably this book is more important than the others. Simply and effectively told, he stories strike a proper balance that will cause youngsters not only to become intimate with race history but also to develop a secure sense of racial pride on which future group solidarity must be built. It is hoped that similar constructive volumes will come from the Friendship Press.

JAMES O. HOPSON

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Abyssinia Betrayed

(*Continued from page* 180)

structed the carrying out of those sanction measures which, in order to placate world public opinion, they were empowered to institute after Italy had been officially declared the aggressor.

Delay Piled on Delay

A bird's eye view of the events which took place at Geneva during these months will suffice to show the dilatory tactics pursued by the so-called democratic powers in helping Fascism to achieve its aims—the conquest of Abyssinia.

On October 2, 1935, the war began, when Italian troops violated the Abyssinian frontier to the South of Mount Mussa Ali, near French Somaliland. Five weeks later (November 6, 1935) the Committee of Eighteen met and the sanctions committee approved oil sanctions "in principle."

Eleven weeks later (January 22, 1936) the Committee of Eighteen decided to appoint a special committee of experts to study oil sanctions.

Thirteen weeks later (February 3, 1936) the committee of experts on trade in petroleum met. Fourteen weeks later (February 12, 1936) the committee of experts reported their findings. Seventeen weeks later (March 2, 1936) the Committee of Eighteen discussed the report of the committee of experts on oil sanctions. On March 4, the Committee of Eighteen referred points about oil sanctions to a sub-committee.

Twenty-two weeks later (April 8, 1936) the Committee of Thirteen, the Council of the League of Nations, minus Italy, discussed the Italian and Abyssinian replies to the appeal of the League to the two parties for peace.

Seven months later (May 2, 1936) the Emperor of Ethiopia left Addis Ababa, placing the Government of his country in the hands of a Council of Ministers at Gore.

Seven months of bloodshed, and the League of Nations was unable to prove its efficacy as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Seven months of brutality and carnage, and the League of Nations was unable to stem the tide of Italian imperialistic greed. Seven months of Italian savagery, and the League of Nations kept instituting committees of twos, of threes, of eighteens, *ad infinitum*. Seven months of bombs, of poison gases, of forbidden instruments of warfare, and the League of Nations remained throughout inert, impotent and drowsy.

Thus was Ethiopia sacrificed in "a war of civilization and liberation," a war "of the poor, of the disinherited, of the proletariat!"

Surely the colonial peoples, like other small nations, cannot be expected to have confidence in the integrity of such an institution as the League of Nations after the shameful way in which China and Ethiopia have been let down. At every phase of this disgraceful business the Abyssinians were tricked, deceived and led to the slaughter by the League, headed by the great "peace-loving" democratic powers, Great Britain and France.

Not even the organized labour movement, which is supposed to be passionately anti-Fascist, did more than express pious words of sympathy. The stalwart leaders of the Second and Third Internationals and their sections, especially in those countries where so-called bourgeois democracy exists, and where the facilities for mobilising the masses were favourable, did nothing to help the workers. These great "champions" and stalwart fighters for the rights of the colonial peoples and subject races did not provide one gas mask, one ambulance outfit, much less financial assistance, to help these Abyssinians.

Failure of Revolutionary Parties

It is to the everlasting shame of the organised labour movements of Europe and America that bourgeois humanitarians did more in a practical way to help the Abyssinians than any of the national sections of both Internationals. Perhaps their leaders felt like Mr. Brailsford that Abyssinia "was a feudal kingdom outside the fraternity that links workers the world over." Imperialists, headed by Lloyd George, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Cecil, and others, did more to collect money for Red Cross purposes and despatch ambulances to help the Abyssinians. This does not mean these imperialists are for coloured independence; but it shows the bankruptcy of the revolutionary leaders in their attitude towards subject races. The African peoples want to see more deeds and less table talk about international brotherhood. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these politically backward Abyssinian warriors with their primitive weapons, fighting against overwhelming odds, to throw back Fascist-imperialist barbarism from the shores of Africa, will long be remembered when those "revolutionary socialists" who betrayed them shall have been forgotten.

When one reads such utterances as those by Mr. Brailsford, one of the leading theoreticians of the socialist movement, one cannot help feeling that, had it been Abyssinia raining death from the air upon a white people—even if they were among those "outside the fraternity that links workers the world over"—Europeans would not merely have passed pious resolutions on behalf of the victim. Not without reason, Haile Selassie, in his last appeal to Europe, declared: "Do the peoples of the world not yet realise that by fighting on until the bitter end I am not only performing my sacred duty to my people, but standing guard in the last citadel of collective security? Are they too blind to see that I have my responsibilities to the whole of humanity to face? I must still hold on until my tardy allies appear. And if they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness, 'the West will perish.'"

How truly prophetic! Yesterday it was Abyssinia. Today Spain. And tomorrow . . . . .?

The next article by Mr. Padmore will deal with Hitler and African colonies. It will appear in an early issue.

LETTERS from READERS

Praises Schuyler Article

To the Editor of the Crisis: I wish to thank Mr. Schuyler, through your valuable organ, for his excellent article entitled "Do We Really Want Equality?" It is scholarly, timely and effective. Just what we need to stir us up. Great good will come from it.

Among other things Mr. Schuyler points out the fact that we contribute so little for the defense of our citizenship rights. This is true. However the fault is not due wholly to the indifference of the people. The stronger fact is that the N.A.A.C.P. does not appear to be alive to the truism that you must spend money to get money. If you do not want money, send for it. If you do want money, you must go after it. If the N.A.A.C.P. wants money it must go after it under the specific leadership and direction of a person who knows how to get money. Printed appeals, circular letters and the like will help, but they will not bring in much money. Much money can be obtained only by the personal touch of one who knows and understands the peculiar psychology of the people and how to get money out of them. The people will give and they will give generously, if the matter is presented by a qualified and proper person. They have given through the long years to all good causes. They have given and are giving to many bad causes. They will give to anything, if the person appealing knows

how to get money out of them. They will give freely and easily.

Instead of complaining about the seeming indifference of the people in giving money for their own defense let the N.A.A.C.P. engage the services of a qualified person who knows how to get them to give it. It was my privilege to ask a limited number of persons to give for a good cause for 18 years. They never failed. I asked them to do many stiff financial things and not once did they disappoint me. If such was my experience in dealing with a limited number of them in a given place I am justified in reasoning that out over the broad expanse of this great country of ours there are thousands and thousands and even millions of persons who have the same fine spirit of sacrifice and cooperation. I know they are there. I know they will give. I know they will give until it hurts. I know they will give often, but the right means must be employed in order to get them to give.

(Rev.) Walter Dorsey McClane,
Boston, Massachusetts

Disagrees with Hauser

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I have read with interest the article entitled "The American Negro and the Dark World," by Ernst Otto Hauser in your February issue and would make a few comments on it.

The theme is well written and is entertaining reading, but I cannot agree with his opinion, for it has the familiar mark of "advice that is best for your people" from the view point of Caucasian. We are advised to be Nationalist rather than Internationalist, a Nazi doctrine that is abhorrent, and should be rejected.

I agree that the Mohammedan and Buddhist religious, and Japan's contributions to the improvement of the Pacific Islanders are a strong connecting link between the various races mentioned, but there is a connecting link between all the races of the *Dark World* that is just as strong, that Mr. Hauser failed to mention, viz., the *Intolerance, Hatred, Prejudice,* of the *Caucasian World* for the *Dark World.*

I agree entirely with Dr. DuBois and other thinkers, who believe that improvement of our lot is best obtained by more contacts and cooperation with other colored races of the world, rather than our past course of action.

One of the greatest faults of the Afro-Americans in the past has been the lack of interest, knowledge, understanding of and sympathy with the other races of the Dark World. Unfortunately their thinking was based on the opinions of such writings as Mr. Hauser's and others whose only motive was to keep the *Dark Races divided and suspicious of each other.*

The days are numbered when Afro-Americans will blindly follow the "advice" offered by those who would maintain the status quo of their race.

There is hardly an Afro-American who has been to Japan and other Oriental countries that wasn't impressed with and inspired by the progress made, and by the kind treatment received. More of us should go as students and tourists to learn for themselves instead of believing all that our Caucasian friends tell us.

I would be glad to read the opinion of other readers of Mr. Hauser's article.

Beikoku-jin Hawaii Ni
Honolulu, T. H.

"Esso" Refinery Employs Many Colored Workers

The Baton Rouge refinery of the Standard Oil Company of Louisiana is a large employer of Negro labor. More than a thousand colored men live and support families from the payrolls of this concern which is an affiliate of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Standard Oil Company of Pennsylvania and the Colonial Beacon Oil Company, known as a group to the business world as The Esso Marketers.

James Walton, a Negro foreman, is the ranking member of this group; and next to him are more than 200 semi-skilled men who command wages commensurate with the training required for their work. Within the ranks of these colored workers are twenty proud holders of the company diamond-studded emblem of service indicating more than twenty years of continuous employment and loyalty. A much larger number are wearers of ten-year buttons, showing just half, or a bit more, as consistent service, satisfactory both to company and men. In Baton Rouge there reside 48 others who are annuitants of the company. More than 400 hold buttons, indicating five or more years of employment.

The serious interest these men have in their company finds expression in an Esso Booster club organized among them, headed by a sextette of workers in the Paraffin Department, Jesse Williams, Frank Williams, Joe Williams, Matthew Green, Anderson Brooks and George B. Robertson. They have been assisted in the conduct of the education of the colored public by J. M. Frazier, principal of the McKinley high school of Baton Rouge. Members of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, a nation-wide group of Negro college men committed to the development of business among Negroes, and the Southern University faculty have lent considerable encouragement to these men, and this unusual combination of masses and classes has aroused a great local interest in Louisiana, with the result that plans are on foot for the opening of a service station owned by a corporation of their creation.

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Southern Lynching

By Gwendolyn Brooks

How many hundred prints of red
Imbue this flesh so cold and dead!
Red dries on rigid legs and long
Stiff arms. Strains of the lynching song
Cease not, although the work is done
And twilight comes—the drowsy sun
Sinks paler, paler in the west,
Soft—settling down to golden rest;
The spring-blue of the daylight sky
Darkens, and from some hand on high
A night-breeze flows; the first faint star
Glows coldly in its ceil so far
Above the strange and bloody scene,
With down-glance startled, watchful, keen—
The eerie notes chant on despite
This obvious approach of night.
The merry madmen laugh and sing.
The dead man lies a ghastly thing.
His eyes are wide, they stare—oh, close
Those stricken orbs! One lyncher goes
And twists the lips so tightly pressed.
Blood oozes from them. On the chest,
Red-brown, another lyncher beats,
And laughs. Weird joy! Another treats
His youngster to a souvenir
In form of blood-embroidered ear.
And pebbles, sticks, and clots of mud
Blend momently with human blood.
Now, all are gone. Deserted, now,
His dark, blood-eloquent death-place. How
Silent and strangely calm it is!
As if no pain-charged cry of his
Had rent the high surrounding air.
Back in his hovel drear, a pair
of juvenile eyes watch anxiously
For a loved father. Tardy, he!
Tardy forever are the dead.
Brown little baby, go to bed.

Night in Mississippi

By Thomas Fortune Fletcher

Night in Mississippi
Is a black mother
Mourning for murdered sons
And ravished daughters.

Commencement

The commencement exercises of Morgan College, Baltimore, Md., will be held June 1 with Dr. Owen R. Lovejoy delivering the address.

Summer School

The sixteenth annual summer session of the Georgia State College will be held June 14 to July 17.

Vocational Guidance Manual

Pres. Buell G. Gallagher announces the publication of "The Talladega Manual of Vocational Guidance". The manual was compiled by George W. Crawford and contains valuable information for the guidance of student counselors.

Aunt Hannah Webster

By HARVEY M. WILLIAMSON

At my grave Old Phillip Benson
Rewarded my half-century of service to his family
With words of praise for my beautiful life
And for my willingness to sacrifice myself
To the need of my "white folks."
With solemn declaration
He affirmed their undying affection and respect.
Now in this grave which they neglected to mark
With a monument to my self-sacrifice,
I am resentful of this praise.
With romance and sentimentality,
It is a custom among them
To hide the cruelty of fact.
When Death arrived
I made him welcome.
I was weary of the sixteen hours a day
I waited on the Bensons hand and foot
And tended their children
Meanwhile neglecting my own.
When their children were grown,
They were "valued members of society."
When my children were grown,
Sarah was a prostitute,
John was a convict,
And my Jimmy was an illiterate laborer.
For his gold
Shylock asked a pound of flesh.
He was a fool.
With a eulogy
The Bensons bought a life.

Gets Scholarship

Miss Anna Vivian Brown, a senior at Oberlin College, has been awarded a scholarship for a year of study in India. Two scholarships for this purpose were secured by Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurman who returned last year from a tour of India with her husband, the Reverend Howard Thurman. Miss Brown sailed on the S. S. Paris, May 4, and after the coronation ceremonies in England proceeded to India where she will study at the Young Women's Christian University, a sister College of Mt. Holyoke in Massachusetts. She will return to America next February by way of China, Japan and the Philippines.

NYA Finds Jobs for 210

Jobs in private industry for 210 colored boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 25 living in Chicago were found during the month of April by the South Parkway bureau of the National Youth Administration Junior Placement Service, according to a report made to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the NYA.

Postgraduate Clinic

The seventh annual Saint Philip Hospital Postgraduate Clinic for Negro physicians will be held under the auspices of the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, from June 14 to June 26, it is announced by Dr. Lee E. Sutton, Jr., dean of the school of medicine, director of the clinic.

Insurance Men Meet

The National Negro Insurance Association held its annual convention May 26-28 in Augusta, Ga., the guest of the Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance Co.

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